



[Edmiston (John)]



Whit. Moss

January 1959

(D. ...)

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MEMOIRS

Colton O F *Genral*

North-Britain;

Taken from Authentick Writings,
as well Manuscript as Printed.

In which it is Prov'd,

That the *Scots* Nation have Always been
Zealous in the Defence of the Protestant
Religion and Liberty.

C O N T A I N I N G,

- I. An Account of the Cruelties exercis'd by the *Tories*, against the *Protestants*, in King *Charles's* and King *James's* Reigns.
- II. Of the Tryals and Murder of the Earl of *Argyle*, and *Robert Bailie* of *Ferwiswood Esq;*.
- III. Of the Revolution, and *Dundee's* Rebellion.
- IV. Of *Glenco's* Death, and the *Darien* Colony; with a Vindication of King *William's* Honour and Justice therein.
- V. Of the Designs of the *Jacobites* in Opposing the *Union*, and of their *Invasion-Plot* after it.
- VI. The Agreement between the *English* and *Scots Tories*, since the Change of the Old Ministry, in their Attempts against the Protestant Succession.

L O N D O N:

Printed for J. BAKER at the *Black Boy* in *Pater-Noster-Row*;
and J. GRAVES, near *White's Chocolate-House*,
St. James's. MDCCXV.

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To His G R A C E

T H E

Duke of *Argyle*.

M Y L O R D,



IN looking into the History of *Scotland* for Half a Century, I had so many Opportunities to observe the Great Actions and Sufferings of Your Ancient and

A 2

Illustrious

DEDICATION.

Illustrious Family, in the Defence of the *Protestant Religion* and *Liberty*, that I could not forbear paying You the Homage due from every Good *Briton* in this Manner; most humbly to beg Your Grace's Patronage for a Work intended only to vindicate the Honour of that Brave *Nation*, which has been so shamefully abus'd by the Malice and *Faction* of the Author of the *Scots Memoirs*.

What a Bold Stand did Your Grace's Grandfather, the Earl of ARGYLE, make against *Popery* and *Tyranny*, when a Corrupted *Ministry* were contriving to destroy His Lordship first, and then

DEDICATION.

then the *Scottish Liberties* and *Religion*, which he defended singly with a Carriage and Steadfastness worthy His own Glory and His Ancestors?

How much do's *Great Britain* owe to Your Noble Father, for hazarding All to assist our *Deliverer* King *William* of Glorious Memory, in the Wonderful *Deliverance* He wrought for Us?

And how much are these Kingdoms indebted to Your GRACE'S Wife and Happy Administration, when as Her Majesty's Lord High Commissioner You represented Her Royal

DEDICATION.

Person in that Parliament of *Scotland*, which commenc'd the *Union* She had so much at Heart, and preferr'd the Accomplishment of it to all the Triumphs of a Victorious *War*?

Your Grace, not content with securing our *Peace* at Home, by setting a-Foot so Important a Negotiation, let no Opportunity slip of acquiring fresh *Laurels* Abroad, with which You Yearly return'd, from the Plains of *Blenheim* and *Ramelies*, from *Flanders*, *Germany* and *Spain*; where Your Grace's Intrepid *Valour* became Terrible to Your *Friends* as well as the *Enemy*, by
Expo-

DEDICATION.

Exposing a Life so Valuable to Your *Country*, and all Mankind, with the same Contempt of Danger, as if it was not a Common Blessing ; for the Continuance of which, we are in Gratitude and Interest oblig'd to pray.

Your Grace, at an Age when other *Heroes* begin to distinguish Themselves, has finish'd a Glorious Course of Fame ; and whether in *Action* or in *Council*, in the *Senate* or the *Field*, You have always come off *Conqueror*, and Triumph'd with Your *Eloquence* and Your *Arms*.

DEDICATION.

How conspicuous was His Majesty's Wisdom, in placing so near the Person of the Prince, so Faithful and so Able a Counsellor as Your Grace, whose Genius is so proper to confirm in His Royal Highness those Princely Qualities, which so justly render Him the *Delight* and *Hope* of the *British* Empire?

It was with Transport that I read an Exclamation made by one of those Lords who oppos'd the *Union* in the Parliament of *Scotland*, whose Ashes I shall not disturb by naming him to Your Grace; *Where are the worthy*
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DEDICATION.

Patriots, he cry'd? Where the Douglas's? Where the Campbells? Himself at the same Time affecting the Character of the Supreme Patriot. He could not help doing Justice to the Noblest Names in Scotland; and such Applause cannot be suspected, coming from the Mouth of a Person, whose Principles and Practices were so inconsistent with Your Grace's. Such is the Power of Publick Merit, that it forces Respect even from those that malign it, and, like Virtue, looks Beautiful even in the Eyes of the Vicious.

If Your Grace is so good as to pardon this my Presumption, You will give a New Instance of
the

DEDICATION.

the Extent of Your Humanity and Generosity ; and indeed it can have no Bounds, if You forgive me, a Stranger, in subscribing my self,

My LORD,

Your GRACE's

Most Humble, most Obedient,

and most Devoted Servant.



P R E F A C E.



Had heard of the Scots Memoirs several Months before the Book was publish'd, and Queen Anne dy'd, and of the Use the Jacobite Faction intended to make of it: To represent the Power of their Adherents in Scotland in the most formidable Manner, and shew that a great many of the Prime Nobility were in the Pretender's Interests. This they thought would encourage their Friends in Great Britain, and frighten those that were steddy Assertors of the Constitution, as founded on the Revolution and Acts of Settlement. Another Design of the Person who collected these Memoirs, was to represent the Actions of the Scots Cavaliers, as proceeding all from a Generous Publick Spirit,

Spirit, and all intended for the Good of their Country. I no sooner had read the Memoirs over, but I saw plainly what his Drift was, and resolv'd to expose it, if no better Pen undertook so necessary a Work. I waited several Months, expecting to hear of some such useful Design taken in Hand; but having waited so long in vain, and being assisted by a Friend, who had made large Collections of Memoirs relating to the Scottish Affairs, I could not forbear taking this Author into Consideration, and proving to the World, That he has highly injur'd his own Country; That far from being the Jacobites and the Tories, he would have us believe they are; the Body of the Nobility, Gentry and Commonalty, is compos'd of True British Protestants, who ever since the Revolution have with great Zeal asserted those Principles that produc'd it, and have abhorr'd the Pretences of the Chevalier de St. George.

'Tis true, there has not not been wanting a Noisy Bustling Party, who some out of Pique, as the D. of A. some out of Pride,

as the D. of H. some out of Bigotry, and the far greater Part of 'em out of Beggary, have from Time to Time done their utmost to introduce that Tyranny and Idolatry, which the True Protestants banish'd their Country when they depos'd King James. And 'twill be seen in the following Sheets, that several Events were improv'd by them to the Advantage of their Cause, tho' they were not at first intended to be put to such a Use by the Authors of them; and that by imposing themselves as so many Patriots on the disgusted Whigs, they were receiv'd by them as a Country-Party, and made a Figure as such in some Parliaments: Whereas had their Designs been laid open, they had long ago been forgotten as a despicable desperate Faction.

Nothing proves more evidently what is the genuine Sense of the Scottish Nation, than their Unanimity on Occasion of His Majesty's Happy Accession to the Throne. Loyal Addresses have been sent up to Court from all Quarters; and the People being no longer influenc'd by a Tory Ministry,

nistry, have express'd their Loyalty in the most hearty Terms, and in such Crowds of Communities, that there remains not the least Reason to suspect the Fidelity of the North-Britons to our Protestant King.

If I had not had a particular Respect for our Countrymen on the Other side of the Tweede, I should not have been at this Pains to vindicate their Honour against the Reproaches of a Jacobite Libeller: And therefore whenever I speak favourably of the English, as in the Case of Darien, 'tis to be understood as the Thoughts of a Person who takes that Affair to be carry'd on, to promote the Jacobite Interest, and not for any Real Advantage to Scotch Commerce. I should say the same had I been a North-Briton, and I flatter my self that the Reasons I have given for this Opinion of Mine, will convince every Impartial Reader, whether English or Scotch.

I must remember both the One and the Other, That the main Intention of this Work was to prove, that we have been
abus'd

abus'd in the Representation the Tories have made us of their Power in that Part of Great-Britain ; and 'tis Occasionally that I have shewn the other Errors of the Memoir-Writer, as well in Fact as Judgment. Those who fancy his Book had so prodigious a Run for the Merit of the Writer, for his Elegance, his Spirit, his Intelligence, or any like Quality of an Historian, have either not Read him, and taken the Value of his Performance on Trust, or not understood him. The Scotticisms in his Stile are not the Imperfection I refer to : But what signify Criticisms of this kind, when we have to do with a Man, that in every Page of his Book has some Treasonable Reflection or other against the British Constitution, or its Friends ; and has had so little Regard, even for Probability, that he contradicts himself in several Places ? This Work had either been Abortive, or had grown out of Date in as few Days as it has had Months, had it not been for the strange Itch People have after any Thing that has the Character of Secrecy, and the Pleasure they

they take in Discoveries of any kind, especially such as are of the Nature of the Memoir-Writer's, wherein the Preservation of every Thing dear to us, is so much concern'd. I doubt not, what he says of the Invasion-Plot, and the Share his Cavalier Dukes and Earls had in it, is true; and he has done good Service to let the Government know what Disposition those Lords are in to destroy it. But then, that it was ever in their Power, even with the Assistance of France, to prejudice the Protestant Succession, till the late Ministry supported them, is what I cannot believe; and 'twill appear to be otherwise in my Observations on his Account of the Pretender's Enterprize, and his Remarks on the Consequences of it, which I make no question would have been as fatal then to the Conspirators, as any such Conspiracy will certainly be hereafter.




MEMOIRS

Relating to

SCOTLAND,

FROM THE

Revolution to the Present Times.


WHEN the Reader considers that the Book which was publish'd some Months ago, Entitul'd, MEMOIRS CONCERNING THE AFFAIRS OF SCOTLAND, so full of *Sedition and Treason*, was the Work of One, who, as himself says, had the *Honour to represent one of the Chief Shires of Scotland, during Four Sessions of*

Parliament ; One who consequently must have taken all Tests of *Allegiance*, *Association*, and *Abjuration*, made in Favour of King *William*, Queen *Mary*, Queen *Anne*, and the *Protestant Succession* ; What Opinion will he have of the Sincerity and Merit of such a Person, whom he finds every where in the Interests of the Pretender, and engag'd in Traiterous Designs to dethrone the Sovereigns to whom he had sworn to be Faithful ? Notwithstanding the Book he wrote had a great Run for a Season, 'twas not sure for any Excellence of *Thought* or *Language*, but the Secresy of the *Fact*, and the surprizing Treachery of the *Leaders* of the *High-Church Party*, who are represented as Accomplices with the Papists, to restore King *James*, or His Pretended Son, by the Assistance of a *French Army*.

This History had never been projected, had not the Author depended on the Protection of the late *Managers*, whose Creature he is said to have been ; and we shall meet with some of them concern'd in Plots to introduce *Popery* and *Slavery* by another *Restoration*. I shall take notice of them as they come in my Way.

When the Collector of these Memoirs makes use of the Term *Cavaliers*, he means the *Jacobites* through his whole Book, as he does *High-Church* by *Country Party* : This is so obvious, and so well known to every one, that I shall make him speak plain, and call each *Party* by their true *Denomination* ; which will set Things

Things in a clearer Light. What a fit Man he was to represent a Protestant *Shire* or *Burgh*, may be imagin'd, by his knowing the Rise of the *Scots* Conspiracies, and his having been trust-
ed by the Chief of the *Jacobites*, as much as any of his Contemporaries: Yet he swallow'd all Oaths to the contrary, and bound himself by every Thing sacred, to discover and frustrate those *Plots* that were communicated to him. If he had not mix'd so much of the *Scots* Brogue in his *Stile*, one might sometimes think he was a *Frenchman* by *Birth* as well as *Education*. For one shall hardly find in any Writing, that did not come from a *Foreigner*, such an Expression as is in his *Preface*; *The Odds is more as Two to One*. But I have something else to do than to trouble my self with his *Stile*: My *Business* is to expose the wicked Design of the Book, which was to animate the *Faction* in *England*, by representing a general Defection in *Scotland*; and that all the Chief Nobility, Gentry, and the Majority of the *Commons*, were in the Interests of the Pretender. A Falsity that has been sufficiently disprov'd by the great Numbers of Loyal and Hearty Addresses, which have been sent up to his Majesty King *George*, from all Parts of *North-Britain*.

Before I enter upon the Examination of the Facts contain'd in the *Memoirs* I have undertaken to animadvert upon, I must desire the Reader to look back with me into the State of Affairs in *Scotland*, in the Reigns preceeding the *Revo-*
lution;

lution; that by a View of the Tyranny under which the *Scots* groan'd, he may have an Idea of the Sense and Honesty of those that took so much Pains to restore it. By this Prospect he will be able to judge of the Design and Merit of such as oppos'd King *William's* being made King, that obstructed His and Queen *Anne's* Measures afterwards, and are distinguish'd by our *Memoir* Author with the Appellation of *Cavaliers* and *Loyalists*.

Though King *Charles* the Second had taken the Test call'd, *The Solemn League and Covenant*, and thereby sworn to maintain *Presbytery* in *Scotland*, yet no sooner was he settled on the Throne of *England*, than he restor'd *Prelacy* in *North-Britain*, and ejected all the *Presbyterian* Ministers that wou'd not conform to it, in the Year 1661. a Year before they were ejected in *England*, where *Presbytery* had not the Pretence to *Superiority*, which it had in *Scotland*, the *Reformation* being entirely *Presbyterian*. After this there was no Kind of Violence omitted to suppress the *Protestant* Interest in that Kingdom, and to erect a *Despotick* Government. In the Year 1681. *Lauderdale* got an Act pass'd to assert the Duke of *York's* Hereditary Right; and not long after, that Duke himself being his Brother King *Charles's* High Commissioner, an Act was extorted from the *Scots* Parliament, to declare the King absolute in that Kingdom, and settle on him a Revenue to maintain a standing Army of 22,000 Men, who, as was mention'd

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in the Act, were to serve him where he pleas'd, either in that Kingdom or *England*.

I will not leave the Reader the Authority of my Word only for Proof of the Fact, that the Duke of *York* got an Act to establish Arbitrary Power in *Scotland*; let him judge of it by the very Words of the 18th Act of that Duke's Parliament, by which it is enacted, *That all Jurisdictions did so reside in His Majesty, that by Himself and His Commissioners, he might take cognizance of any Cause, and decide it as he pleas'd.* Thus did the *Tories* shew their Love to their Countrey six or seven Years before the Revolution; and there was no one Prelate who gave his Negative to this rare Statute.

'T wou'd be endless if one shou'd go about to repeat the Cruelties committed against the *Kirkmen* by the *High-Church* Party. How many Instances of their Barbarity might I give, equal to that of the *French* Dragoons? Their Houses were not only plunder'd, their Persons imprison'd, but even their Wives and Daughters insulted, with as much Wickedness as if their Towns had been taken by Storm. When they ran to the Woods to worship God according to their Consciences, Troops and Companies of Soldiers were order'd to put them to Military Execution. Did not Sir *James Turner* plunder the *West* of *Scotland* by Command of King *Charles II.* and that with so much Barbarity and Rapine, as to force those miserable Wretches to an Insurrection at *Pentland*? The same King suffer'd the *Highlanders* to come down upon the *Scots* Protestants

stants in the *Lower-Lands*, to massacre them, and rob and spoil at Pleasure; which also forc'd them to take Arms for their own Defence; but they were immediately treated as Rebels, and butcher'd by Thousands at *Bothwell-Bridge*.

I know very well that Insurrection is represented as a riotous Tumult of a few factious *Enthusiasts*; but 'tis most certain that several Gentlemen of Note engag'd in that Business; the Tyranny of the *Tories* being become intolerable. For among them were found,

The Honourable——, Esq; } Brothers to the E.

The Honourable——, Esq; } of *Galloway*.

The Laird of *Earlston*, and his Son,

The Laird of *Caitlaw*.

The Laird of *Ketlock*.

The Laird of *Blairquan*, &c.

Nor were the Ministers wanting in Zeal and Courage in the Defence of their Religion and Rights; for many of them took Arms; and had there been then the same true *Scotch* Spirit in that Kingdom, as at the Revolution, the Tyranny of the Popish and *Tory* Faction might not have lasted so long.

Mr. *John Welsh*, Mr. *Samuel Arnot*,

Mr. *Jabri King*, Mr. *John Rea*.

Mr. *John Kidd*, Mr. *George Barclay*,

Mr. *Will. Foster*, Mr. *John Semple*, &c.

Mr. *Tho. Douglas*,

All

All Presbyterian Ministers, animated the People by their Precepts and Examples, to stand by their Liberties, tho' at the Hazard of their Lives. The Tories in England persuaded the King to send the Duke of Monmouth against those unfortunate People, to make him odious to the Protestant Party in both Kingdoms; who wish'd well to all Endeavours for Preservation of the Protestant Religion, their Rights and Privileges. What Provocation the poor Scots had to venture both Life and Fortune in their Defence, may be seen by Two Tory Statutes, pass'd in King James's Reign. The One entitul'd,

An Act against Preachers at Conventicles, and those Present at Field Conventicles.

Which is as follows :

Edinburgh, May 8. 1685.

OUR Sovereign Lord considering the Obstinacy of the Fanatick Party, who notwithstanding all the Laws formerly made against them, yet they persevere to keep their House and Field Conventicles, which are the Nurseries and Rendezvouses of Rebellion: Therefore His Majesty, with Consent of his Estates in Parliament, doth Statute and Ordain, that all such as shall hereafter preach at such Fanatick House or Field Conventicles; as also such as shall be Present as Hearers at Field Conventicles, shall be punish'd by Death and Confiscation of their Goods.

It will however be seen in the Sequel of this History, that the *Presbyterians* were by much the *Majority* of the Kingdom. These did the *Tories* further persecute by another Statute, which was level'd at the Covenant, a Test that King *Charles* had himself taken. The Act runs thus : And they both pass in One Day.

Edinburgh, May the 8th, 1685.

OUR Sovereign Lord and Estates of Parliament do hereby declare, That the giving or taking of the National Covenant, as explained in the Year 1638, or of the League and Covenant so commonly call'd, or writing in Defence thereof, or owning them to be lawful or obligatory on themselves or others, shall infer the Crime and Pains of High-Treason.

Such was the Moderation of *High-Church* to the *Scots Presbyterians* ; such their Love of Liberty, and their Care of Property. In a word, the Persecution was so fierce, that many Thousands were forc'd to fly their Countrey ; and those that stay'd, to hide in Woods and Caves, from the Rage of their *Tory* Persecutors, who hunted them as Game, and shot them for Sport. Nothing can better represent the tyrannical Government in *Scotland* before the Revolution, than the Usage the Noble Earl of *Argyle* met with ; a Lord of one of the most Ancient Families in *Great-Britain*, and who in his Youth had highly deserv'd of the Crown for his Services

vices against *Cromwel* and the Rump. This brave Peer holding several Hereditary and other Offices in that Kingdom, was consequently oblig'd to take the Test, declaring that 'twas a damnable Sin to resist or to attempt any Alteration of that Despotick Government and Cruel Hierarchy. As far as it related to his Legal Allegiance, the Earl was willing and ready to take it; as he told the Privy Council, when he was summon'd before them for that Purpose. But for offering the following Explanation of that Test he was try'd, found guilty of High-Treason, his Blood tainted, his Family declar'd Ignoble, his Estate forfeited, his Honour extinguish'd, and himself was condemn'd to die the Death of a Traytor; nay, he did die on a Scaffold for this very Explanation: The Sentence against him being put in Execution when he was taken in *Scotland*, after the Invasion of 1685. He made his Escape Two Year before out of Prison, fled to *Holland*, return'd in Arms, was seiz'd and executed, not for the latter Crime but the former. The latter he was never try'd for. This terrible Explanation was nevertheless couch'd in these soft Words:

I have consider'd the Test, and am very desirous to give Obedience as far as I can: I am confident the Parliament never intended to impose contradictory Oaths; and therefore I think no Man can explain it but for himself: I take it in so far as it is consistent with the Protestant
Reli-

Religion, and with it self. And I declare I mean not to hind up my self in any Station, and in a lawful Way, to wish and endeavour any Alteration I think to the Advantage of Church or State, and not repugnant to the Protestant Religion, and to my Loyalty. And this I understand as a Part of my Oath.

For this was my Lord *Argyle* try'd in *December, 1681*. His Judges in his Indictment charge this Noble Earl with Ingratitude: For that he had been pardon'd, when in the Year *1662*. he was found guilty and condemn'd to die by the Parliament, for *misconstruing the King's and their Proceedings*. Thus we see how steady that Ancient Family have been, in asserting the Rights and Privileges of their Fellow Subjects, and how much expos'd to the Malice and Cruelty of their own and their Nation's Enemies. An Instance of which we meet with in the Memoir Writer, who speaking of his Grace the present Duke of *Argyle's* Father, says, *He was the Darling of the Presbyterians, being descended from, and the Representative of a Family, that suffer'd for the Cause, as they term'd it.* And what was that Cause, so insulted by this Traitor to his Countrey, but the Cause of Liberty and the Protestant Religion? The Cause for which his brave Father was first a *Confessor* and then a *Martyr*; and his Grandfather, the great Marquis of *Argyle*, a *Martyr*? A Cause for which their Illustrious Off-spring the Present Duke

Duke has fought many victorious Battels, and signaliz'd himself in *Flanders*, *Germany*, and *Spain*, by all the Qualities of a *British* Hero. There is not a House in *Britain* has deserv'd more of all Lovers of the true Religion and Liberty, than that of *Argyle*, which suffer'd so terribly under the Tyranny of a *Tory* Administration, in the Person of his Grace's Grandfather, who for that modest and just Explanation of the wicked Test impos'd on the *Scots*, was treated so barbarously, as has been already mention'd. The last Words of the Verdict against him prove it more authentically : *Of the which Crimes above-mentioned (the misconstruing the King and his Parliament's Proceedings only) you, the said Archibald, Earl of Argyle, are Notar, Art and Part; which being found by Assize, you ought to be punished with Pains of Death, Forfeiture of Life, Lands, and Escheat of Goods, to the Terror of Others to do the Like.*

I shall here give a List of those *Scotchmen* who basely betray'd the Earl of *Argyle's* glorious Cause, by sitting as his Judges, and Signing the Verdict against him : As the

Earl of <i>Linlithgom</i> .		E. of <i>Home</i> .
Earl of <i>Wintoun</i> .		E. of <i>Pearth</i> .
E. of <i>Strathmore</i> .		E. of <i>Dumfermlin</i> .
E. of <i>Haddingtoun</i> .		E. of <i>Dalbouffie</i> .
E. of <i>Dumfries</i> .		E. of <i>Southesk</i> .
E. of <i>Airlie</i> .		E. of <i>Tweddale</i> .
		E. of

E. of <i>Middletoun.</i>	Laird <i>Ballymain.</i>
Lord <i>Livingstone.</i>	Laird <i>Parck Gordon.</i>
L. <i>Sinclair.</i>	Sir <i>William Nicolson</i> of that <i>Ilk.</i>
L. <i>Elibank.</i>	Laird <i>Lamingtoun.</i>
L. <i>Dunkeld.</i>	Laird <i>Claverhouse.</i>
L. <i>Lindores.</i>	Laird <i>Longformegous.</i>
L. <i>Rollo.</i>	Mr. <i>Cranjs Magomrie,</i> Brother to the Earl of <i>Eglington.</i>
L. <i>Bruntildard.</i>	Maister of <i>Sallmirinock.</i>
Laird <i>Purie.</i>	Sir <i>Andrew Ramsey</i> of <i>Abitshall.</i>
Laird <i>Lefmore.</i>	Laird <i>Haning.</i>
Laird <i>Hall-yards.</i>	Laird <i>Greddekar.</i>
Laird <i>Hill-toun.</i>	Laird <i>Londine.</i>
Laird <i>Touch.</i>	Sir <i>William Paterson.</i>
Maister of <i>Bamirinock.</i>	
M. of <i>Rofs.</i>	
M. of <i>Burlie.</i>	
Laird <i>Goffsford.</i>	
Sir <i>Robert Dalziel</i> of <i>Glennel.</i>	

The Witnesses were,

Pat. Menzies, Lord Register. *Hugh Stiving-son*, &c.

If we compare this List with that of the *Jacobites* in the *Convention Parliament*; with that of the *Plotters* and *Conspirators* in the *Reign of King William* and *Queen Mary*, and *Queen Anne*; with that of the *Sticklers* for the *Darien Settlement*, and against the *Union*; with the two Lists of the *sixteen Peers*, procur'd by the late *Managers*, and other such Lists of *Lovers of their Country*; we shall meet with many of them
and

and of their Heirs deep in all Businesſes, that threatned the People of *Great-Britain* with Deſtruction. And 'tis for this End that I deſire they may be remember'd. If any of 'em or their Succeſſors have atton'd by their future *British* Conduct, for the Share they had in the Guilt of this Excellent Lord the Earl of *Argyle's* Blood; they will however be willing the Reſt ſhould be expos'd, rejoicing themſelves in their Remorſe and Amendment.

The Teſt for which my Lord *Argyle* was ſentenc'd to Death, was ſo ſtrong in Favour of Spiritual and Temporal *Tyranny*, that *Popery* and *Slavery* might have found an eaſy Paſſage into the Kingdom by that In-let; and ſome of the Epifcopal Clergy were ſo apprehenſive of it, that they ſcrupled to take it, as did many others of all Ranks; which a little while afterwards oblig'd the Privy Council of that Kingdom, to allow the *Clergy* to take it with an Explanation, tho' the Proteſtant Earl of *Argyle* was beheaded for offering it. The Generoſity of King *James*, then Duke of *York*, is very extraordinary on this Occaſion: For not many Weeks before this Lord was condemned to be thus murder'd, he did him the Favour to give him a Viſit, and accept of an Entertainment from him, of the greateſt Magnificence for ſeveral Days together. After the *Revolution* the Attainder of the Lord *Argyle* was revers'd, and an Act paſſ'd to allow his Son the Earl of *Argyle*, to bring an Action of Damage for a Conſi-

Considerable Sum of Money against the Heirs of those Judges that unjustly condemned his Father.
 We shall see in the Sequel, how that brave *Scots* Parliament attempted to bring all the Traytors to Liberty to Justice, and make them Examples to Futurity, which wou'd have prevented much of the Mischief and Danger that we have since felt and fear'd.

But the Miseries the *Scots* labour'd under before King *William* deliver'd Us and Them, will best appear by the Prince of *Orange's* Declaration for that Kingdom, and a *Speech made by a Member of the Convention of the States in Scotland*, summon'd by the Prince of *Orange's* Writ, when they had desir'd him to take upon him the Administration, as they had before sent to the *Hague* to invite him over. One of the Gentlemen employ'd in that Errand being *Mr. Andrew Fletcher* of *Saltoun*, who distinguish'd himself so much in the *Scots* Parliament eight Years ago by his zealous Opposition of the Union, that the Author of the *Scots* Memoirs forgets he had been in *Holland* with *Monmouth*, and came over with the Prince of *Orange*, as will be seen by his Panegyrick upon him hereafter.

I shall not enter into the Affair of the Earl of *Argyle's* Invasion, but proceed to the *Revolution in Scotland*, to shew the Reasons on which it was founded, and the Falsities of the Author of the Memoirs.

I shall repeat such Parts of his Highness the Prince of *Orange's* Declaration for *Scotland*, as serve most to that End; and doubt not of their being acceptable to the Reader, since that Declaration is not to be met with, or very rarely in the *English* Histories.

“ The lamentable Effects of an Arbitrary
 “ Power, and of Evil Counsels, are so manifest
 “ in the deplorable State of the Kingdom of
 “ *Scotland*, that both our Reason and Consci-
 “ ence do prompt us to an Abhorrence of them.
 “ For when we consider the sad Condition of
 “ that Nation, though always affectionate to
 “ the Royal Family, and govern'd for many
 “ Ages by Laws made by the Authority of their
 “ Kings, and of the Estates of Parliament, and
 “ by Common Customs, is reduc'd by Endeavours
 “ that have been used to change the Con-
 “ stitution of the Monarchy, regulate by Laws,
 “ into a Despotick or Arbitrary Power; which
 “ doth evidently appear, not only by the Act-
 “ ings of Evil Counsellors in Power, but by the
 “ deliberate, express, and publick Declarations,
 “ bearing, that the King is an Absolute Mo-
 “ narch, to whom Obedience ought to be given
 “ in all Things, without Reserve; thereby to
 “ make way to introduce what Religion they
 “ please, without so much as the Necessity of
 “ the Consent of the Nation by their Estates in
 “ Parliament. Whilst we consider and ponder
 “ these Things, as we cannot but be touched
 with

“ with a tender Sense of these Miseries ; so the
 “ giving such a Remedy to them as may be pro-
 “ per, and may answer the Expectation of all
 “ good Men and true Protestants, is the great
 “ Thing which we propose to our selves in this
 “ Undertaking : The Equity whereof will be
 “ justify’d to the World, if what hath been
 “ acted at the Instigation of those Evil Coun-
 “ sellors be further impartially weighed.

“ It is well known, that the Laws, Privileges
 “ and Rights of the Kingdom have been over-
 “ turned, to the great Prejudice of the King and
 “ People, whilst thus all Foundation of Confi-
 “ dence and Trust is removed. And it is no
 “ less known what have been the Arbitrary
 “ Procedures of an Encroaching Privy-Council ;
 “ for although by the Laws enacted by the
 “ Authority of King and Parliament, it is ex-
 “ pressly prohibited, that the Popish Religion
 “ should be professed, or Seminary Priests suf-
 “ fered within the Kingdom ; or that the Chil-
 “ dren of any Noblemen or Gentlemen should
 “ be sent abroad to be Educated in Popish Col-
 “ leges ; yet have these Evil Counsellors ordered
 “ or suffered Young Noblemen to be taken from
 “ their Relations, and to be sent Abroad to be
 “ Instructed in Jesuits Colleges ; and have like-
 “ wise caused Schools to be Erected under the
 “ Conduct of Popish Priests, and that in the
 “ Capital City of the Kingdom.

“ In an open Contempt also of the known
 “ Laws of the Kingdom, the Papists are put in-

“ to Places of highest Trust, both Civil and
 “ Military, and intrusted with all Forts and
 “ Magazines; The Rights and Privileges of the
 “ Royal Butrows; the Third Estate of Parlia-
 “ ment, having as many Deputies in it as all the
 “ Shires in the Kingdom, are taken away; and
 “ they hindred in the free Election of their
 “ Magistrates and Town-Councils, to the mani-
 “ fest Violation of their Charters established by
 “ Law and Immemorial Possession. And all
 “ this is done by meer Arbitrary Power, with-
 “ out any Citation, Trial or Sentence.

“ And whereas no Nation whatsoever can
 “ subsist without the Administration of good
 “ and impartial Justice, upon which Men’s
 “ Lives and Liberties, their Honours and Estates
 “ depend; yet those Evil Counsellors have sub-
 “ jected these to an Arbitrary and Despotick
 “ Power, having turned out Judges, who by
 “ Law ought to continue during their Life, or
 “ their Good Behaviour; because they would
 “ not conform themselves to their Intentions;
 “ and put others in their Places, who they be-
 “ liev’d would be more Compliant, and that
 “ without any Regard to their Abilities: By
 “ which it evidently appears, that those Evil
 “ Counsellors design to render themselves abso-
 “ lute Masters of the Lives, Honours and Es-
 “ tates of the Subjects, without being restrain-
 “ ed by any Rule or Law.

“ By the Influence of the same Evil Coun-
 “ sellors, hath a most Exorbitant Power been ex-
 “

“ exercised in imposing Bonds and Oaths upon
 “ whole Shires without any Law, or Act of
 “ Parliament; in permitting Free Quarters to
 “ the Soldiers, although they had a sufficient
 “ Establishment for their Pay, whereby the
 “ Kingdom was doubly burthened without any
 “ Redress; in Imprisoning Gentlemen without
 “ any, so much as alledged, Reason, forcing ma-
 “ ny to Accuse and Witness against themselves;
 “ imposing Arbitrary Fines, frightening and har-
 “ rassing many Parts of the Country with Inter-
 “ commoning and such-like Arts; making some
 “ incur the Forfeiture of Life and Fortune for
 “ the most general and harmless Converse, even
 “ with their nearest Relations Outlaw’d. And
 “ thus bringing a Consternation upon a great
 “ Part of the Kingdom; Which, when Out-
 “ lawries and Intercommonings went out against
 “ Multitudes upon the slenderest Pretexs, was
 “ involv’d so universally in the Danger, that
 “ those Counsellors themselves were so obnox-
 “ ious, as to find it necessary to have Pardons
 “ and Indemnities, whilst the poor People were
 “ left to Mercy; empowering Officers and Sol-
 “ diers to act upon the Subjects living in quiet
 “ and full Peace, the greatest Barbarities; in de-
 “ stroying them, by Hanging, Shooting and
 “ Drowning them, without any Form of Law,
 “ or Respect to Age or Sex, not giving some of
 “ them Time to pray to God for Mercy. And
 “ this for no other Reasons, but because they
 “ would not answer or satisfy them in such
 “ Questi-

“ Questions as they propos'd to them, without
 “ any Warrant of Law, and against the Com-
 “ mon Interest of Mankind, which frees all
 “ Men from being oblig'd to discover their Se-
 “ cret Thoughts. Besides a great many other
 “ Violences and Oppressions, to which that
 “ poor Nation hath been expos'd, without any
 “ Hope of having an End put to them, or to
 “ have Relief from them!

The Remainder of his Highness's Declaration relates to their Design to abolish Penal Laws, and then to take away the Toleration to *Dissenters*; to the Imposture of the *Pretender*; and his Highnesses Intention to redress all their Grievances. Yet notwithstanding all these Violences and Illegalities, the Subversion of the *Scots* Constitution, and the Destruction of the Protestant Religion, the Memoir-Writer calls those Members of the Convention that were for delivering themselves from the Ruin which so near approach'd the *Fanatick* Party, and those that would have ruin'd it beyond Redemption, the *Royalists*, who cross'd the Designs of the *Revolutioners*, which tended all to secure their Religion, Liberty and Property. What Obligations the *Scots* Nation has to his Cavalier-Faction, may be determin'd by their strenuous Endeavours to Entail all the Tyranny mention'd in the Prince of *Orange's* Declaration, on them and their Posterity for ever.

Near Forty of the Most Noble and Potent Peers of *Scotland* attended the Prince of *Orange* at *London* soon after his Arrival at *St. James's*, and put the Government into his Hands. At the Head of these appear'd the Duke of *Hamilton*, Father of the Earl of *Arran*, whom we shall have often occasion to make mention of by his Father's Title. His Early Disposition to *Jacobitism* was seen by his going off in the same Barge with King *James*; and if he return'd to *London* afterwards, 'twas doubtless with the same View as the *Presbyterian* Parson *Lob* stay'd behind that King. This Parson, the only *Fanatick Jacobite* that ever was in *England*, waited on King *James* as he was coming down the Stairs at *Whitehall*, and offer'd to go with him, but the King bid him stay, *for he might do him more Service at home*: Which, no doubt, was the Inducement to the Earl of *Arran* not to follow his Master to *St. Germain's*, with his Countrymen the Earls of *Pertb*, *Middleton*, *Dumfermling*, &c. All whom you find among the Murderers of the Earl of *Argyle*; all of 'em *Staunch Tories*. The Lord *Arran* herded with the *Malecontents*, and in the Presence of his Father Duke *Hamilton*, stickled at a Meeting of the *Scots* Peers in *London* for their *Inviting King James back again*: Insisting, that it should be put into the *Scots* Address to the Prince of *Orange*; to pray His Highness that he would do it. But it was unanimously rejected, and by no Body more than his own Father.

Sir *Patrick Hume*, who came over with his Highness, and had been *Outlaw'd* in *Scotland* for Words, according to the Justice of that *Tory* Ministry, took particular Notice of the Proposal made by the Earl of *Arran*, and desir'd to know if there *was any one there that would second it*; but none appearing to do it, he said, that *what the Earl had propos'd was evidently opposite and injurious to his Highness the Prince of Orange's Undertaking, his Declaration, and the good Intentions of preserving the Protestant Religion, and of Restoring their Laws and Liberties express'd in it.* To the same Purpose spoke the Earl of *Sutherland* and *Lord Cardross*. The *Tories* had forc'd the latter by their Persecution to leave his Native Country, and fly to the Wilderesses of *America*; His Lordship having liv'd in *Carolina* several Years to enjoy the Liberty of his Person and Conscience. The Duke of *Hamilton* Himself spoke against his Son the Earl of *Arran*, saying, *That there was no need of taking any Notice of his Proposal.* The Address the *Scots* Lords agreed upon being deliver'd to the Prince, several Peers, as the Earls of *Craford* and *Louthian*, who came to *London* after it was presented, desir'd his Highness, that they might however have the Honour to Sign it.

Some Days after the Address was presented, the Earl of *Arran* hearing King *James* was arriv'd in *France*, condescended to pay his Duty to the Prince of *Orange*; and having

made his Excuse for being one of the latest that paid that Compliment to his Highness, he said freely, *If his King had not been gone to France, he should not have done it then.* The next Day he went again to Court, and the Prince told him he had dispos'd of his Regiment which had been taken from the Old Earl of *Oxford* to give to him; and this Affront confirm'd him in the *Jacobite* Interest.

I am the longer upon the Earl of *Arran's* Behaviour, to shew how consonant it was from the beginning of the *Revolution* to his *Death*. And what Judgment then will the Reader make of our late Ministers, who admitted this Lord, then Duke of *Hamilton*, into the deepest Secrets of Council, intrusted him with the ARTILLERY of *Great Britain*, and appointed him the Queen's *Ambassador* in *France* to restore the *Ancient Amity*, and accomplish effectually those Designs, which we shall all along in the Course of our Examination of the *Scots Memoirs* find him engag'd in, for the Interests of King *James* and his Pretended Son. And the main Drift of this Treatise being to expose the Treachery of the *Staunch Faction* in *Great Britain*, by shewing the Agreement of both *Scots* and *English Jacobites*; whatever serves to that End, cannot reasonably be look'd upon as a Digression.

What I have said of the Miserable State of the *Scots Nation* under King *James's* Government,

ment, shews the Necessity there was of setting him aside, and aggravates the Guilt of all those that endeavour'd to have restor'd him, and with him the intolerable Slavery of Popery and Arbitrary Power. Their Misery is still farther set forth in the Speech before-mention'd, of which I shall only take those Parts that are most for my Purpose ; the Whole being of too great a Length to be inserted.

“ We are now call'd together, *says the Wor-*
 “ *thy Member,* by his Highness the Prince of
 “ *Orange,* to consult and deliberate what Me-
 “ thods will be most proper to secure our Reli-
 “ gion, Laws and Liberties: In order to which,
 “ the first Thing that will fall under Considera-
 “ tion, is the settling the Sovereign Power.

“ I take for granted, that you are fully con-
 “ vinc'd that King *James* the VII. by his many
 “ Violations of the Fundamental Laws, by his
 “ endeavouring to establish a Despotick and Ar-
 “ bitrary Power, and introduce Popery, tho'
 “ he himself had confirm'd all the Laws that
 “ were enacted in favour of the Protestant Re-
 “ ligion, has thereby subverted the Constitution,
 “ and (that our Miseries might have no Redress
 “ from him) has left us in a Time when we
 “ needed his Protection most. The Eyes of all
 “ *Europe* are upon us; and it is in our Power to
 “ make our selves and our Posterity either Hap-
 “ py or Miserable, by making a Choice either
 “ to call back the same King, and hazard once

“ more all that Men account dear, to his Mercy;
 “ or to settle the Government on some other,
 “ under whom we may live quiet and peaceable
 “ Lives, without the perpetual Terror of being
 “ swallow’d up by Popery and Arbitrary Go-
 “ vernment, which all good Men hop’d were
 “ banish’d; and yet behold a new Off-spring is
 “ sprung up, which plead eagerly for both, tho’
 “ under the mistaken Names of Duty and Alle-
 “ giance.

This Off-spring was the *Jacobite Faction* in the
Scots Convention, which was the Root both in
 that Assembly and the Convention at *Westmin-
 ster*, of all the Disaffected Parties that have since
 been so troublesome to the Government, and
 dangerous to the Kingdom. The Author of the
Scots Memoirs alludes to it, when he says,
 Page 2.

*At the Commencement of this Convention, there
 was a very Considerable Party in it that design’d
 to adhere to, and support King James’s Interest:
 But Jealousies and Animosities arising among
 them, and several Unfortunate Accidents happen-
 ing, they were oblig’d to yield to that violent Tor-
 rent, which rush’d down upon all such as had the
 least Regard for the Royal Family.*

No Body can question now but when he
 talks of his *Cavalier* Party, he means the *Faction*
 that would have sold us to *France*, have ruin’d
 our Constitution in Church and State, and made

us that were so lately an Object of Envy to all the Nations of *Europe*, an Object of Pity, whom no *Power* could Protect, and no *Charity* Relieve. So far was the Faction in *England* and *Scotland* of a Piece in every Thing, that their Leaders were generally Renegado's from Principles of *British* Liberty.

The Man, who is the reputed Author or Collector of the *Scot's* Memoirs, had for his Father a Gentleman, who on all Occasions exerted himself in that good Cause, and was a Protestant of the strictest Denomination. His being Assassinated by *Tories*, proves their Hatred to his Person, and the Extent of his Merit. His Mother was a Sister of the Marquess of *W.* a Family that in all Times have been zealous for the Preservation of our Laws and Liberties; and this Man has, since he was capable of acting, been as zealous for the Destruction of 'em; When he was sent up to the Parliament of *Great Britain*, he fell in immediately with his Fellow-Renegado's, the *Harl—ys*, *Fo—ys*, *Har—ts*, *Winn—ton's*, &c. And upon the fatal Change of the Ministry in 1710, he was one of those rare Accomptants whom the New Ministers procur'd to be chosen Commissioners of Accompts, to fish for Faults in the former Management; and who, the first Thing they did, fell upon the *Q—n* her Self by a Representation against a Warrant under her own Hand, for the Payment of Moneys which indeed did not belong to her, but was paid by the *Allies* for Secret Service out
of

of their Subsidies; and they would not allow it to be appropriated to any other Use. I think it necessary to give this Account of our Cavalier, that his Party in *England* may have the Honour of him, as often as we find him Conspiring against Queen *Anne* and the Protestant Succession. What he is, may indeed be put beyond all manner of Doubt; by a Saying common in the Mouths of his Children, whenever the Queen was mention'd, That *truly their King was in France*; out of *the Mouths of Babes and Sucklings* are the greatest *Truths* to come; and there is no *Political* one, I believe, greater than this.

Having thus prepar'd the Reader to apply every Thing, our Memoir-Writer says of his Party in *Scotland*, to their Abettors and Protectors in *England*, the late Managers, I shall proceed to examine his Memoirs, and shew the Wickedness of that Faction from their Origin to these Times. The Worthy Member, whose Speech I have taken a Paragraph or two from already, sets them out in their proper Colours in that which follows.

“ It's strange that any Man can so far dege-
 “ nerate, as to prefer Slavery to Liberty; and
 “ that they should be so much in love with
 “ Chains, that when they were fairly shaken
 “ off, they should run furiously to be fetter'd
 “ again; as if the *Ottoman* and *French* Govern-
 “ ments were so charming in our Country, that
 “ we

“ we cannot live without it, tho’ we have late-
 “ ly groan’d under the dismal Burthen of it.
 “ And it might have been suppos’d, that even
 “ those who had been instrumental in enslaving
 “ their Fellow-Brethren, and were grown fat
 “ with sucking the Nation’s Blood, would have
 “ taken another Method to reconcile them-
 “ selves, than by persuading us to purchase their
 “ Safety at so vast an Expence, as the Ruin of
 “ more than Three Parts of the Nation will
 “ necessarily amount to.

This proves to us, that notwithstanding the
Faction in *England* and *Scotland*, have mightily
 cry’d up their Strength in *North-Britain*; yet
 ’twas all along *Bounce*, and that the *Protestant*
Interest was ever much superior there to any
 other, and strong enough without any Assist-
 ance from *South-Britain*, to support it self against
 the Treason and Power of the *Jacobites*. How-
 ever, in *Scotland*, as well as *England*, the Facti-
 on were very noisy in Declamations as to their
 Number. They did alike in both Kingdoms
 pretend to be the 9 in 10. The *Examiner* boasted
 the High-Church-Party had such a Majority on
 this side the *Twede*; and *Abel* in one of his Pa-
 pers brag’d as much for them on the other.
 The *Scots* Memoir-Writer speaks in the same
 Tone, Page 2.

Certain it is, had the Royalists been unanimous
 among themselves, they were strong enough to
 have oppos’d the Fanatick Party, and crossed
 them

them in most of their Designs, with relation to both Church and State. The Opinion likewise, that Matters could not long stand in the present Posture, induced many of the Royalists to shun being elected Members of that Convention, not desiring to homologate the Prince of Orange's Actings; and thereby many more of the Fanaticks came to be elected than otherwise would have been.

This is so notorious a Falsity, that one would wonder how a Man could be guilty of it against Knowledge. But what may we not expect from one who writes thus for King *James* and his pretended Son, after he had taken so many Solemn Oaths and Tests to Renounce and Abjure them? His Writing against Queen *Anne* and the Protestant Succession was *Perjury*, as well as *Treason*; and he who can forswear himself, will never stick at an *Untruth* to carry any Point in Hand. The *Scots* were as Unanimous in their Votes for the *Detroning* King *James*, as the *English* were for *Abdicating* him. They were not satisfy'd with the soft Word *Abdication*; they resolv'd roundly that he had *Forefaulted the Crown*, and Three in Four Parts of the Nation were of the same Opinion.

Before I proceed further in enquiring into the Errors of Knowledge and Ignorance to be met with in the *Scots* Memoirs, I shall look into the History of the *Revolution* there, that the World may see how and by whom it was brought about.

They

They will find the Members summon'd by King *William*, then Prince of *Orange*, to be Gentlemen of the best Fortunes and Families, who had the greatest Game at Stake, and were consequently most oblig'd to play it off wisely. They were Men of Piety and Virtue, as well as Fortune, and as incapable of doing an unjust Thing, a base One, which every One that's acquainted with the *Scots* Nation will best judge of.

A LIST of the *Scots* Convention-Parliament, Summoned by His Highness the Pr. of *Oranges* Writs in Mar. 1688.

[Note, That all those with this Mark * before them were in this Convention.]

C L E R G Y.

Archbishops.

- * S. Andrews,
- * Glasgou.

Bishops.

- * Edinburgh,
- Galloway,
- * Dunkeld,
- * Aberdeen,
- * Murray,
- * Ross,
- * Birchen,

- * Dumblaine,
- * Caithnes,
- * Isles,
- Argyle,
- * Orkney.

NOBILITY.

Dukes.

- * D. of Hamilton,
- D. of Buccleugh,
- D. of Lenox,
- D. of Gordone,
- * D. of Queensberry.

Marqueſſes.* *M. of Douglas,**M. of Montroſe,** *M. of Atholl.***Earls.*** *E. of Argyle,** *Crawfuird,** *Erroll.** *Marifhall,** *Sutherland,** *Marr,**Airth,**Roths,** *Mortoun,**Buchan,** *Glencairne,** *Eglington,** *Caffils,**Caithnes,**Nithisdail,**Wintoun,** *Linlithgow,** *Home,**Pearth,** *Dumfermline,**Wigtoun,**Strathmore,**Abercorne,**Roxbrugh,**Kellie,**Haddingtoun,**Galloway,**Seaforth,** *Lauderdale,** *Lothian,**Kinnoull,**Lowdown,**Dumfreis,**Stirling,**Elgine,**Southeſk,**Traquair,**Aucrum,**Weymes,**Dalhouſſie,** *Airlie,**Findlator,**Carnwarth,** *Callender,** *Levin,** *Annandale,**Dyfert,** *Panmuir,** *Selkirk,** *Tweddale,**Northeſk,** *Kincairden,** *Balcarras,** *Forffar,** *Tarras,*

* Mid-

Middletoun,
 Aboyne,
 Newbrugh,
 Kilmarnock,
 * Dumdonald,
 Dumbartoun,
 * Kintore,
 Bradalbane,
 Aberbene,
 Melfort.

Viscounts.

Falkland,
 Dumbar,
 * Stormont,
 * Kenmuir,
 * Arbuthnet,
 Fren draught,
 Kingstoun,
 * Oxenfoord,
 Irving,
 Kilfyth,
 Dumblane,
 Prestone,
 Newhaven,
 * Tarbat,
 Tiviot,
 Strathallan,
 * Dundee.

Lords.

The Lord Forbes,
 Saltoun,
 Gray,
 Ochiltrie,
 Cathcart,
 * Sinclair,
 Mordingtoun,
 Sempill,
 * Elphingstoun,
 Oliphant,
 * Lovat,
 Borthwick,
 Ross,
 * Torphicen,
 Spinnie,
 * Lindores,
 * Balmorinoch,
 * Blantyre,
 * Cardross,
 Cranstoun,
 Burghlie,
 * Jedburgh,
 Mathertie,
 Cowpar,
 * Melvill,
 Napper,
 Cameron,
 Crammond,
 Rae,
 * Forrester,

Pitshoe,

Pitshoe,
 Kirkcudbright,
 Frazer,
 * Bargainy,
 Bamff,
 Elibank,
 * Dunkeld,
 * Belhaven,
 Halkeatoun,
 Abercrombie,
 * Carmichaell,

* Duffus,
 * Rollo,
 * Colvill,
 * Ruthven,
 * Rutherfoord,
 * Ballenden,
 * Newark,
 Nairne,
 Eymouth,
 Kinnaird,
 Glasfoord.

Commissioners for Shires.

The Shire of Edinburgh,
Sir James Foulis of Col-
lington,
Sir John Maitland of
Ravelrig.
 Haddingtoun,
 * *Sir Robert Sinclair of*
 Stevenston,
 * *The Laird of Ormi-*
 stoun.
 Berwick,
 * *Sir Archibald Cock-*
 burn of Langtoun,
 * *Sir Patrick Home of*
 Polwart.
 Roxburgh,
 * *Sir William Eliot of*
 Stobs,

* *Sir Patrick Scott of*
 Aucrum,
 Selkirk,
 * *Sir William Scott Jun.*
of Harden,
 * *George Pringle of*
 Torwoodlie,
 Peebles,
 * *Sir Archibald Murray*
of Blackbarony,
 * *David Murray of*
 Stenhope,
 Lanerk,
 * *The Laird of La-*
 mingtoun,
 * *Sir Daniel Carmicha-*
 ell of Malthe.

Dumfreis,

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>Dumfréis,
* <i>Sir James Johnstoun</i>
of Westerraw.
Wigtoun,
* <i>Sir Andrew Agnew</i>
of Lochnaw,
* <i>William M'dougall</i> of
Garthland.
Aire,
* <i>The Laird of Blair</i>,
* <i>The Laird of Skel-</i>
<i>morlie.</i>
Dumbartoun.
* <i>Claud Hamilton</i> of
Burnes,
* <i>William Colquhoun</i>
of Craigtoun.
Bute,
* <i>Sir James Stewart</i>,
<i>Sheriff of Bute</i>,
* <i>David Boyl</i> of Kel-
burne.
Renfrew,
* <i>Sir John Maxwell</i> of
Pollock,
* <i>William Cunningham</i>
<i>Jun. of Craigens</i>:
Stirling,
* <i>Sir Charles Erskine</i>
of Alva,</p> | <p>* <i>John Houstoun Junis</i>
of that Ilk.
Linlithgow,
* <i>Thomas Drummond</i>
of Rickartoun,
* <i>Patrick Murray</i> of
Lavingstoun.
Pearth,
* <i>John Halden</i> of Gle-
negies,
* <i>James Ramfay Junis</i>
of Bamse.
Kincairden,
* <i>Sir Thomas Burnet</i>
of Leys,
* <i>Alexander Arbutli-</i>
<i>net</i> of Knox.
Aberdeen,
* <i>Sir John Forbes</i> of
Craigiwar,
* <i>James Muir</i> of Stain-
wood.
Invernes,
* <i>The Laird of Grant</i>,
* <i>Duncom Forbes</i> of
Colloden.
Nairn,
Cromartie,</p> |
|--|---|

Argyle,
* *Sir Duncan Campbell*
of Auchenbreck,

* *John Campbell, Cap-*
tain of Carrick.

Fyfe,

* *William Anstruther*
Jun. of that Ilk.

* *John Dempster of*
Pithver.

Forfar,

* *Sir George M'kenzie*
of Newtyle,

* *David Erskine of*
Dun.

Bamff,

* *Sir Patrick Ogilbie of*
Boyne,

* *Alexander Duff of*
Braico.

Stewartrie of Kirkcud-
bright,

* *Hugh M'guffock of*
Rufco.

Southerland,

* *John Gordon Jun.*
of Embo,

Adam Gordon of Dal-
folie.

Caithnes,

Elgine,

* *The Laird of Brodie.*

* *Thomas Dumbar of*
Grange.

Orkney,

* *William Graigie of*
Garsey.

Clackmanan,

* *David Bruce of Clack-*
manan.

Rofs,

Double Elections not
yet discuss'd.

Kinrofs,

* *Sir David Arnot of*
that Ilk.

Com.

Commissioners for Burghs.

Edinburgh,	{	Sir John Hall,
Pearth,		George Stirling,
Dundee,		Robert Smyth.
Aberdene,		James Fletcher.
Stirling,		Alexander Gordonie.
Linlithgow,		Hugh Kennedie.
St. Andrews,		William Haigens.
Glasgow,		James Smyth.
Aire,		John Anderfone.
Haddingtoun,		John Nuir.
Dysert,		John Sleigh.
Kirkaldie,		David Christie.
Monross,		John Boswall.
Coupar,		James Moodie.
Anstruthereaster,		Robert Melvill.
Dumfreis,		David Spence late Bayly.
Invernes,		James Kennau.
Bruntisland,		John Cuthbert.
Funerkerthen,		Alexander Gedde.
Kinghorne,		Alexander Spittel.
Brichen,	Patrick Wallace.	
Irvine,	Mr. Henry Mauld.	
Fedbrugh,	Mr. Alexander Cunninghame.	
Kirkcudbrugh,	Adam Ainsley.	
Wigtoun,	John Ewart.	
Dumfermling,	William Coltran.	
Pitten-weym,	Sir Charles Halket.	
	George Smyth.	

<i>Selkirk,</i>	<i>Mr. John Murray.</i>
<i>Dumbartoun,</i>	<i>Mr. James Smollel.</i>
<i>Renfrew,</i>	<i>Mr. William Cockran.</i>
<i>Dumbar,</i>	<i>James Smyth.</i>
<i>Lanerk,</i>	<i>Thomas Hamiltone.</i>
<i>Aberbrothock,</i>	<i>Patrick Stevin.</i>
<i>Elgine,</i>	<i>James Stuart.</i>
<i>Peebles,</i>	<i>John Muir.</i>
<i>Craill,</i>	<i>George Moncreif.</i>
<i>Tayne,</i>	<i>William Rofs.</i>
<i>Cubross,</i>	<i>Mr. William Erskine.</i>
<i>Benuff,</i>	<i>Walter Stewart.</i>
<i>Whiteborne,</i>	<i>Patrick Murdoch.</i>
<i>Forffar,</i>	<i>John Carnegie.</i>
<i>Rothsey,</i>	<i>Mr. Robert Stewart.</i>
<i>Nairne,</i>	<i>John Rofs.</i>
<i>Forres,</i>	<i>Thomas Cullock.</i>
<i>Rutberglen,</i>	<i>John Scott.</i>
<i>North-Berwick,</i>	<i>Thomas Stewart.</i>
<i>Anstrutherwester,</i>	<i>Mr. Robert Clelland.</i>
<i>Cullen,</i>	<i>Mr. James Ogilvie.</i>
<i>Lander,</i>	<i>David Maitland.</i>
<i>Kintoir,</i>	<i>Hugh Wallace.</i>
<i>Annan,</i>	<i>Bryce Blair.</i>
<i>Lockmaben,</i>	<i>Thomas Kennedie.</i>
<i>Sanquabar,</i>	<i>Mr. John Boswall.</i>
<i>New-Galloway,</i>	<i>James Gordone.</i>
<i>Kilrenny,</i>	<i>George Beaton.</i>
<i>Forterose,</i>	<i>Robert Innes.</i>
<i>Dingwall,</i>	<i>Kenneth M'kenzie.</i>
<i>Dornock,</i>	<i>George Gordone.</i>
<i>Queen Ferrie,</i>	<i>Mr. William Hamiltone.</i>

Innerarie, Hugh Brown.
Junerurie, John Anderfone.
Week,
Kirkwall, George Traill.
Fuverbervie, William Beatie.
Stranrawer, Sir John Dalrymple.

His Grace Duke of *Hamilton*,
 Lord President.

On the 14th of *March* 1688^s, the Lords Spi-
 ritual and Temporal, and the Commons Assem-
 bled at *Edinburgh*, all in one House, according
 to the Custom of that Kingdom. The Bishop
 of *Edinburgh* said Prayers, and being of the
 true *Tory* Stamp, he pray'd God to restore King
James. The House then proceeded to chuse
 their President; the *Tory* Party were for the
 Marquess of *Atbol*; the *Protestant* Party for
 Duke *Hamilton*, who carry'd it by 40 Voices;
 Which is a plain Demonstration that the *Whigs*
 had a great Majority before the *Bishops*, and the
 Malecontent Peers left the House. And we
 shall see, that whatever Pretences the *Tory* Bi-
 shops and Lords made to Unlimited Loyalty,
 and Obedience without Reserve, they did e-
 nough to forfeit their Heads by their own Act,
 and to damn their Souls by their own Princi-
 ples, if Resistance be a damnable Sin, as they
 would have us believe it is, when that Doctrine
 serves a Turn. King *James* had giv'n the Go-

vernment of *Edinburgh* Castle to the Duke of *Gordon*, a Papist; Yet all these Bishops and Disaffected Lords concurr'd in a Vote of the Convention to grant a Warrant to the Earls of *Lothian* and *Tweddale* to summon that Duke to Surrender the Castle, and give up his Commission to a Protestant Governor; an Act of Resistance as notorious as the Skirmishes at *Wincanton* and *Reading*, or any thing that happen'd in *England* to frighten King *James* out of it.

The *Tory* Faction oppos'd the Earl of *Argyle's* Sitting, because his Father's Attainder was not Revers'd; but their Opposition was to no purpose. The same Objection was rais'd against Sir *Patrick Hume*, and with the same Success. The Sense of that Nation was seen by these Attempts; and the Bishops had early Notice given them, that their Order in that Kingdom would not be of long Duration: For upon a Debate, Whether the Lords Spiritual were a Distinct Estate the first Day of the Convention's Sitting, several Members spoke against Prelacy; and those that were for it, thought fit to let the Question go off with the Contempt which their Opponents treated it with.

The next Day these *Passive Obedience* Men concurr'd in another Vote with Reference to the Duke of *Gordon*, who had return'd an Insolent Answer to their Summons, That *he should be proclaim'd a Traitor, and the Castle block'd up*; the Governor having still King *James's* Commission in his Pocket. But this is not the worst
Token

Token the *Scots Tories* gave of their Hypocrisy in the Doctrine of Non-Resistance: For now that they were all together, Bishops, *Dundee*, and all of them, upon the Lord President's acquainting the House, that one *Cran*, Servant to King *James's* Queen, had brought a Letter to them from King *James*, it was debated, Whether it should be read, or not. The Earl of *Lothian* mov'd, That King *William's* Letter might be first read, for that they met at his Desire, and 'twas carry'd in the *Affirmative*. He also propos'd an Expedient for Reading King *James's* Letter, to which the House agreed, That before the Reading of it, they should pass the following *Act*, and that the Members should Sign it.

Forasmuch as there is a Letter from King James the VIIth, presented to the Meeting of the Estates, that they before opening thereof, declare and enact, That notwithstanding of any Thing contain'd in that Letter for Dissolving them, or Impeding their Procedure, yet that they are a free and lawful Meeting of Estates, and will continue undissolved until they settle and secure the Protestant Religion, the Government, Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom.

This was Sign'd by Seven or Eight of the Bishops, by *Dundee*, and *Livingstone*, by the Duke of *Queensbury*, and all the *Jacobite* and *Tory* Members, Six or Seven excepted; and yet

the Author of the *Scot's Memoirs* confidently affirms of the *Duke of Queensbury*, That he continued steady to King James's Interests all the Time he liv'd; which how he did will be shown further hereafter. Does this Act, declaring they renounc'd King James's Sovereignty, and to resolve to meet and make Laws contrary to His Commands, or without His Authority, agree with the Act of Obedience without Reserve, and the *Scots* Bishops Address to King James, as soon as they heard of the Prince of Orange's intended Expedition for our Deliverance? How inconsistent are these Tories with themselves, as well as with Truth, Reason, and Justice? Is it not plain, that they grew Malecontents, and form'd the *Jacobite* Faction purely out of fear of Punishment, for their being Instruments of that Arbitrary Power which this New Act of theirs abolish'd; or out of Disgust for losing Places and Power; or out of Envy at others who enjoy'd them? This was the Rise of the *Jacobite* Faction in *Scotland*, and of the High-Church in *England*.

I do not insert King *William's* Letter to this Convention, it being in our *English* Histories; but King *James's* is scarce, and in few Hands, I shall therefore give it entire.

JAMES R.

MR Lords and Gentlemen, Whereas We have been informed, That You the Peers and Representatives of Shires and Boroughs, of that
Our

Our Ancient Kingdom, are to meet together at Our good Town of Edinburgh, some time in this Instant March, by the Usurpt Authority of the Prince of Orange; We think fit to let You know, that We have at all Times rely'd upon the Faithfulness and Affection of You Our Ancient People, so much, that in Our greatest Misfortunes heretofore, We had recourse to Your Assistance, and that with good Success to Our Affairs; so now again We require of You to Support Our Royal Interest, expecting from You what becomes Loyal and Faithful Subjects, Generous and Honest Men, that will neither suffer Your Selves to be cajoled nor frighted into any Action misbecoming True-hearted Scotchmen; and that to Support the Honour of the Nation, You will Contemn the base Example of Disloyal Men, and Eternize Your Names by a Loyalty suitable to the many Professions You have made to Us; in doing whereof You will chuse the safest Part, since thereby You will evite the Danger You must needs undergo; the Infamy and Disgrace You must bring upon Your Selves in this World, and the Condemnations due to the Rebelious in the next; and You will likewise have the Opportunity to secure to Your Selves and Your Posterity, the Gracious Promises We have so oft made, of securing Your Religion, Laws, Properties, Liberties and Rights, which We are still resolved to perform as soon as it is possible to Us to meet You safely in a Parliament of Our Ancient Kingdom: In the mean Time fear not to Declare

clare for Us your Lawful Sovereign, who will not fail on Our Part to give You such speedy and powerful Assistance, as shall not only enable You to defend Your Selves from any Foreign Attempt, but put You in a Condition to assert Our Right against Our Enemies, who have depressed the same by the Blackest of Usurpations, the most Unjust as well as most Unnatural of all Attempts; which the Almighty God may for a Time permit, and let the Wicked prosper, yet then must bring Confusion upon such Workers of Iniquity. We farther let You know that We will Pardon all such as shall return to their Duty before the Last Day of this Month inclusive; and that We will punish with the Rigor of Our Laws all such as shall stand out in Rebellion against Us or Our Authority: So not doubting that You will Declare for Us, and Suppress whatever may oppose Our Interest; and that You will send some of Your Number to Us, with an Account of Your Diligence, and the Posture of Our Affairs, We bid You heartily Farewel.

Given on Board the St. Michael, the First
of March, 1689.

By His Majesty's Command.

MELFORT.

Not

Not a Member of the House made any Motion for an Answer to this Letter; and *Cran* who brought it, could not procure a Pass to return to *Ireland* to his Master, 'till he had given Security not to carry any Letter or Paper from any Person whatsoever to King *James*. The Convention was all this while compos'd of the Bishops, as well as the other Tory-Peers, and they gave their Assent to raise Money, to levy Forces, to send Arms to *Ireland*, and the like. All Acts of Resistance, nay of Rebellion, if King *James's* Right was *Divine, Unalterable, Indefeasible*, and his *Power Absolute*.

Dundee, for Reasons that will be more fully Explain'd in the Course of this Treatise, being conscious of his own Guilt, in the Two late Reigns; and despairing of Forgiveness from so many Families whom he had oppress'd, and who now were likely to have Opportunities to retaliate the Usage they had met with, had a Private Conference with the Duke of *Gourdon* at the *Postern-Gate* of the Castle, tho' the Convention had forbid all Correspondence with him, under Pain of Treason: He also absented himself from the House, and increas'd the Number of his Attendants, whom he arm'd for his Defence, as he gave out, there being 5 or 6000 *Western Scots* in *Edinburgh*, who came thither to offer their Service to the Convention, and were dismiss'd with Thanks.

There was something very Extraordinary in the Behaviour of these Protestants *Scots*: For
the

the Convention offering them a Gratification, they declar'd, *They came only to Save and Serve their Country, and not to Impoverish it by Enriching themselves.*

Besides Dundee, Sir George Mackenzie, who had been King James's Lord Advocate, a great Asserter of Tory-Doctrines, and as great an Instrument of Tory-Persecution, withdrew himself from the Convention, as did also Five Bishops, and several other Members, but not considerable either for Number, Merit, or Fortune; tho' the *Memoir Writer* calls the sitting Members, above Five to One of the whole Assembly, a *Rump*. In the mean Time the Majority of the *Bishops*, and the *Peers* of their *Party*, continu'd sitting, while Major General Mackay, to whom the House had given the Command of the Forces, block'd up the Castle, fir'd from his Trenches on the Garrison, and kill'd several Men. Was not this Resistance, and was he not paid for it by those Highflying Prelates, and others, that continu'd voting and acting with those Gentlemen, who had petitioned King *William* to take upon him the Administration of the Government? 'Tis true, the three Bishops that were present when General Mackay was made Commander in Chief of the Forces, were Passive in that Vote; but what Excuse was that for their continuing to Vote in other Cases, when the Authority by which they Sat, was according to their Principles, *Illegal and Usurpt.* In the Debate about
Mackay,

Mackay, the Archbishop of *Glasgow* desir'd, That all the Bishops might be excus'd, it being a Military Concern; to which one of the Members reply'd, He was glad the Bishops had got a New Light, but he had seen Military Orders sign'd by that very Bishop; the Archbishop answer'd, that was another Case, for then he was Præsides of a Committee; the other Member reply'd, I know no Difference in the Case, but that those Orders were against Presbyterians, and this against Papists. The Refractory Proceedings of these Bishops were very prejudicial to their Order.

A further Accident happen'd, in which the Prelates shew'd their Highflying Principles were not so well fix'd, but that the Continuance of their Power and Benefices, would easily have engag'd 'em to depart from them. For when the Answer to King *William's* Letter was read, approv'd of, and order'd to be sign'd, three Bishops again reply'd to it; yet afterwards upon the Debate, Whether the Lord *John Hamilton*, or the Lord *Rofs*, should be the Bearer of it, those three Prelates gave their Votes for the Lord *Rofs* to carry it. Indeed they were more Orthodox in Sir *Patrick Humes's* Case; for upon the Question for his Admission, notwithstanding his Attainder, the Three Bishops left the House, their Lordships being for the Admission of Mr. *Cockburn*, who was Sir *Partrick's* Competitor in his Election; but the House, except the Three Prelates, unanimously voting
Sir

Sir *Patrick Hume* duly Elected, *Cockburn* left the City and joyn'd *Dundee*, who was gathering a Party of Horse about him in the Neighbourhood. The Body of Bishops vigorously oppos'd a Vote at the Opening of the Session, to approve the Address made by the Noblemen and Gentlemen at *London*, to the Prince of *Orange*. Upon which, a Member stood up and said, *It was no wonder the Bishops oppos'd the Approving that Address at London, since the said Bishops famous Address to King James was not yet approv'd of by the House, &c.* This Speech, and the Talk of an Address against Episcopacy, to be Sign'd by Forty Thousand Hands, made those Prelates more angry with the Management of the *Revolutioners*, as the Memoir Writer calls them, and was a great Spur to their *Loyalty*.

The Convention having Summon'd all their Absent Members to appear, Sir *George Mackenzie* wrote a Letter to them, *that he was afraid of his Life*, as truly well he might be, had the Protestant Party been of the same bloody and revengeful Disposition as that of the *Tories*, both *English* and *Scotish*. Excuses were sent from Others on Account of Sicknes; but the Disaffected Faction was so insignificant, that they gave no manner of Interruption to the Proceedings of the Convention, who order'd a Grand Committee of Nine out of each of the Three Estates, to *consider of the State of the Nation, and the Methods of settling it.* This Affair was debated,

debated, and afterwards put to the Question, which was carry'd by a Majority of 54, and the Names of the Committee read and approv'd of.

NOBILITY.

NOBILITY.	Knights of the Shire.
Marquess of <i>Atbol.</i>	Sir <i>Patrick Hume.</i>
Earl of <i>Argyle.</i>	Sir <i>Corn. Scot.</i>
Earl of <i>Craford.</i>	<i>Blaire</i> of that <i>Ilk.</i>
Earl of <i>Sutherland.</i>	Sir <i>James Montgomery.</i>
Earl of <i>Lothian.</i>	<i>Ormistoun.</i>
Viscount <i>Tarbat.</i>	<i>Pitliver.</i>
Lord <i>Cardross.</i>	<i>Grant.</i>
Lord <i>Melvil.</i>	<i>Grainge.</i>
Earl of <i>Tweddale.</i>	<i>Colleder.</i>

BURGESSES.

Sir <i>John Hall.</i>	Mr. <i>Muire</i> of <i>Aire.</i>
Sir <i>John Dalrimple.</i>	Mr. <i>Anderson</i> of <i>Glas-</i>
Sir <i>Charles Halket.</i>	<i>gow.</i>
Mr. <i>William Hamilton.</i>	Mr. <i>Smith</i> of <i>Perth.</i>
Mr. <i>Fletcher</i> of <i>Dundee.</i>	Mr. <i>Hugh Brown.</i>

There were Six Bishops present when this Vote pass'd. They mov'd they might *have the Privilege of a State*, or in other Words, that they might be declar'd Independant of the other Estates; but they were told *they must joyn in with the Nobility*. The House were so jealous of them, that they order'd them not to *insinuate*

ate any thing in their Prayers against their Acts and Proceedings. The Committee above-mention'd having come to a Resolution among themselves, Reported it to the House, viz.

The Estates of the Kingdom of Scotland find and declare, That King James the Seventh being a profess'd Papist, did assume the Royal Power, and acted as King, without ever taking the Oath required by Law; and hath by the Advice of Wicked and Evil Counsellors, invaded the Fundamental Constitutions of this Kingdom, and altered it from a Legal Limited Monarchy, to an Absolute and Despotick Power, and hath exercised the same to the Subversion of the Protestant Religion, and the Violation of the Laws and Liberties of the Nation, Inverting all the Ends of Government, whereby he hath Forefaulted the Crown, and the Throne is become Vacant.

Then the Reasons for declaring the Throne vacant, consisting of 15 Articles, were read and debated Article by Article; They were very Learnedly and Satisfactorily explain'd by Sir John Dalruple and Sir James Montgomery, no Body speaking in Opposition to them but the Archbishop of Glasgow and Mr. James Ogilvie, now E. of Fin—r; the Former insisting much on the Absolute Power of Kings, and that they were accountable to none but God, saying, *To resist their Lawful Sovereign, was to resist God.* There was a very remarkable Accident in this Debate, which relates to Sir James Montgomery and Mr. James Ogilvie; The Former, who then
fo

so strenuously asserted the Justice of the Revolution, having mis'd the Preferments his boundless Ambition aspir'd to, turn'd *Jacobite*, went over to *St. Germans*, and was the Penman of one or more of King *James's* Declarations; the Latter obtaining those Places which gratify'd his Ambition, became a Violent *Williamite*, and acted in all Things with the *Revolutioners* till the late Change of the Ministry, when he left them, to be a Confident and Creature of a Person inferior to himself in all Things, the Discarded Treasurer.

After the Debate was over, the Question was put, Whether the House agreed with the Committee? And it was carry'd in the Affirmative by a great Majority, there being only 8 or 9 *Negative* Voices, of whom 7 were Bishops, all that were present; and 13 or 14 *Nonliquets*, of whom Two Lords, One Knight of the Shire, and the rest Burgessees.

The Articles are as follow.

I. “ **K**ING *James* the Seventh being a
 “ professed Papist, did assume the
 “ Regal Power, and acted as King, without
 “ ever taking the Oath required by Law, where-
 “ by every King at his Access to the Govern-
 “ ment, is obliged to Swear to maintain the
 “ Protestant Religion, and to Rule the People
 “ according to the Laudable Laws.

II. “ By the Advice of Evil and Wicked
 “ Councillors, he did invade the Fundamental
 “ Constitution of this Kingdom, and altered it
 “ from a Legal, Limited Monarchy, to an Ar-
 “ bitrary, Despotick Power; and by publick
 “ Proclamation, asserted an absolute Power to
 “ Cas, Annul and Disable all the Laws; and
 “ particularly arraigning the Laws establishing
 “ the Protestant Religion; and did Exert that
 “ Power for the Subversion of the Protestant
 “ Religion, by Erecting publick Schools, and
 “ Societies of the Jesuits; and not only allow-
 “ ing Mafs to be publickly said, but did invert
 “ Protestant Chapels and Churches to Publick
 “ Mafs-Houses, contrary to exprefs Laws a-
 “ gainst Saying and Hearing of Mafs.

III. “ By Disarming Protestants, while in
 “ the interim He employ’d Papists in the Pla-
 “ ces of the greatest Trust, both Civil and Mi-
 “ litary, such as Chancellors, Secretaries, Pri-
 “ vvy-Councillors, Lords of Session, thrusting
 “ out Protestants to make room for Papists; and
 “ by intrusting the Forts and Magazines of the
 “ Kingdom in their Hands.

IV. “ By allowing Popish Books to be Prin-
 “ ted and Dispersed by a Gift to a Popish Prin-
 “ ter, designing him Printer to His Majesty’s
 “ Household and Chapel, contrair to the
 “ Laws.

V. “ By

V. “ By taking the Children of Noblemen
 “ and Gentlemen, sending and keeping them
 “ Abroad to be bred Papists, making great
 “ Funds and Donations to Popish Schools and
 “ Collegés Abroad ; by bestowing Pensions
 “ upon Priests, and perverting Protestants from
 “ their Religion, by offers of Places and Pen-
 “ sions.

VI. “ By imposing Oaths contrair to the
 “ Law.

VII. “ By giving Gifts and Grants for ex-
 “ acting Money without consent of Parliament,
 “ or Convention of the Estates.

VIII. “ By Levying and keeping on Foot a
 “ standing Army in time of Peace, without
 “ Consent of Parliament.

IX. “ By employing Officers of the Army
 “ as Judges through the Kingdom, and impo-
 “ sing them where there were Heretable Offices
 “ and Jurisdiftions, and by them many of the
 “ Leidges were put to Death summarly, with-
 “ out Legal Tryal, Jury or Record.

X. “ By using Inhumane Tortures, and with-
 “ out any Evidence, in ordinary Crimes.

XI. “ By imposing exorbitant Fines, to the
 “ Value of the Parties Estates ; in exacting ex-
 “ travagant Bail, and by disposing of Fines and
 “ Forfaulters, before any Process or Convi-
 “ ction.

XII. “ By causing Pursue and Forfeit sever-
 “ ral Persons, upon old and obsolete Laws,
 “ upon frivolous and weak Pretences, upon
 “ lame and defective Probation, as particularly
 “ the late Earl of *Argyle*, to the Scandal and
 “ Reproach of the Justice of the Nation.

XIII. “ By subverting the Right of the Royal
 “ Burroughs, the Third of the Estates of Par-
 “ liament ; imposing not only the Magistrates,
 “ but also the whole Town Council, and
 “ Clerks, contrair to their Liberties and express
 “ Charters, without the Pretence either of
 “ Sentence, Surrender, or Consent ; and the
 “ Commissioners to Parliament being chosen by
 “ these Magistrates and Councils, the King
 “ might, in effect, as well nominate that entire
 “ Estate of Parliament : And many of the said
 “ Magistrates put in by him were avowed Pa-
 “ pists, and the Burroughs forced to pay Money
 “ for Letters imposing these illegal Magistrates
 “ and Council upon them.

XIV. “ By sending Letters to the Chief
 “ Courts of Justice, not only ordering the
 “ Judges

“ Judges to stop and desist, *sine die*, to deter-
 “ mine Causes; but also ordering and command-
 “ ing them how to proceed in Cases depending
 “ before them, contrair to the express Laws;
 “ and by changing the Nature of the Judges
 “ Gifts, *ad vitam aut culpam*, and giving them
 “ Commissions *ad bene placitum*, to dispose them
 “ to Compliance with Arbitrary Courses, and
 “ turning them out of their Offices when they
 “ did not comply; and particularly, those who
 “ in Parliament opposed the Abrogating of the
 “ Laws made for the Security of the Protestant
 “ Religion.

XV. “ By granting personal Protection of
 “ Civil Debts, contrair to Law, notwithstand-
 “ ing of the Representation of the Privy-Coun-
 “ cil in the contrair.

The Convention having agreed to the Arti-
 cles, and the Resolution as to the *Vacancy* of
 the *Throne*, order'd a Bill to be brought in *To*
settle the Crown on King William and Queen
Mary, and to consider the Terms of the Destina-
tion of the Heirs of the Crown; as also to pre-
 pare an Instrument of Government for securing
 the People from their Grievances. By this we
 see how wisely and bravely the *Scots* acted at
 the Revolution, and consequently that the *Ja-*
cobite Faction there must be the most abandon'd
Traytors to their Country that ever Nation was
 plagu'd with; the Convention proceeding with

so much Prudence and Zeal to Establish their Liberties on the most lasting Foundation; and this doubtless was the Reason why the Writer of *The Memoirs* represents them as a Company of *Factionous, Despicable* Fellows.

When this good Vote was past, and the Bill order'd to be drawn, the Bishop of *Dundee* offering to say Prayers, as the Custom was, a Member mov'd, *That King James, being no more their King, he must Pray for him at his Peril*: That Prelate was too wary to run any such Risque, and said only, *The Lord's Prayer*.

The House order'd their Vote of Vacancy to be sent to all the Absent Members for their *Assent* or *Dissent*; and hearing that *Dundee* was gone *Northwards* with a Party of Horse, they summon'd him by a Herald to return; which he refusing, the Convention denounc'd him a Rebel. What Disposition that Viscount was then in, will appear by his Letter to the Convention; which was read, as follows.

May it please Your Grace,

THE coming of an Herald and Trumpeter to summon a Man to lay down Arms, that is living in Peace at Home, seems to Me a very extraordinary Thing; and I suppose will do so to all that hears of it. While I attended the Convention at Edinburgh, I complained often of many Peoples being in Arms without Authority, which was notoriously known to be True, even
the

the wild Hill-Men; and no Summons to lay down Arms under the Pain of Treason being given them, I thought it unsafe for me to stay longer among them: And because some few of my Friends did me the Favour to convoy me out of reach of these Murderers, and that my Lord Livingston, and several other Officers took Occasion to come away at the same Time, this must be called being in Arms. We did not exceed the Number allowed by the Meeting of Estates: My Lord Livingston and I might have had each of us Ten; and Four or Five Officers, that were in Company, might have had a certain Number allowed them; which being, it will be found we exceeded not. I am sure it is far short of the Number my Lord Lorne was seen to March with. And tho' I had gone away with some more than Ordinary, who can Blame me, when Designs of murdering me was made appear? Besides, it is known to every Body, That before we came within Sixteen Miles of This, my Lord Livingston went off to his Brother, my Lord Strathmoir's House; and most of the Officers, and several of the Company, went to their respective Homes or Relations: And if any of them did me the Favour to come along with me, must that be called Being in Arms? Sure when your Grace represents this to the Meeting of the States, they will discharge such a groundless Pursuit, and think my Appearance before them unnecessary. Besides, tho' it were necessary for me to go and attend the Meeting, I cannot come with Freedom and Safety, because I am informed there

are Men of War and Foreign Troops in the Passage; and 'till I know what they are, and what are their Orders, the Meeting cannot blame me for not coming. Then, my Lord, seeing the Summons has proceeded on a groundless Story, I hope the Meeting of States will think unreasonable I should leave my Wife in the Condition she is in. If there be any Body that, notwithstanding of all that is said, think I ought to appear, I beg the Favour of a delay till my Wife be brought to Bed, and in the mean Time I will either give Security, or Paroll, not to disturb the Peace. Seeing the Pursuit is so groundless, and reasonable Things offer'd, and the Meeting composed of prudent Men, and Men of Honour, and your Grace presiding in it, I have no reason to fear further Trouble. I am,

May it please Your Grace,

Your most Humble Servant,

Sic subscribitur, DUNDEE.

Postscript.

I beg your Grace will cause this to be read to the Meeting, because it is all the Defence I have made. I sent another to your Grace from Dumblein, with the Reasons of my leaving Edinburgh: I know not if it be come to your Hands.

We

We shall have occasion to speak more of this Rebel hereafter. The Act of Settlement of the Crown being pass'd, the Convention order'd a dutiful Letter to be drawn up, and sent with it. In which, at the Motion of the Earl of *Craford*, a Clause was put, *of an humble Request to the King, to turn that Meeting of the Estates into a Parliament.* And His Majesty having in His Letter mention'd a Union of the Two Kingdoms, they proceeded to the Nomination of Commissioners to treat with those appointed on the Part of *England*. By the List of these Commissioners, we shall see that some who oppos'd Queen *Anne's* Union, were eager for King *William's*.

A LIST of the Commissioners appointed by the Scots Convention, to treat of a Union with England in the Year 1689.

NOBILITY.

Knights of Shires.

The Earl of <i>Argyle</i> .	Sir <i>James Montgomery</i> .
The Earl of <i>Craford</i> .	Sir <i>Patrick Hume</i> .
The Earl of <i>Lothian</i> .	Laird of <i>Ormingstoun</i> .
The Earl of <i>Anandaile</i> .	Laird of <i>Blackboromy</i> .
The Earl of <i>Tweddale</i> .	Laird of <i>Racebrigg</i> .
Lord <i>Rofs</i> .	<i>Grant</i> .
Lord <i>Cardross</i> .	<i>Rivartown</i> .
Lord <i>Melvill</i> .	<i>Blaire of the Ilk</i> .

B U R-

B U R G E S S E S.

Sir John Hall.	Mr. James Fletcher.
Sir John Dalrymple.	Sir William Hamilton.
Sir Charles Hacket.	Mr. John Murray.
Mr. James Ogilvie, now E. of F—s & S—d.	Mr. John Muire.

When this Letter had been consider'd by Paragraphs, 'twas put by the Vote; and as *steady* as the Duke of *Queensbury* was to King James's *Interest*, we meet with his Name among the Approvers. Himself, the Marquess of *Atbol*, the Earl of *Cassels*, and the Earl of *Kinlore*, excepting against nothing but the Clause relating to the *Scots Petition of Right*, and the *Grievances*, the Majority agreed to it entire.

This short Account of the Proceedings of the *Scots Convention* is sufficient to convince any Impartial *Briton* of the Justice and Necessity of the Revolution in *Scotland*, and that it was not carry'd on by a Beggarly Rump, but was the Sense of that Brave Protestant People, animated by the Example of their Neighbours in *England*. Of all the Members summon'd by the Prince of *Orange's* Writ, there were none absent on Account of Discontent or Disaffection, but those whose Names are here Recorded, to remember all True *Scots-Men* of the Enemies to their Constitution, who would have effectually enslav'd them to Spiritual and Temporal Tyranny.

A LIST of the Members of the Meeting of the Estates of Scotland who absented Themselves from the Convention, in the Tear 168^s.

Most of the BISHOPS.

E A R L S.

Earl of <i>Hume.</i>		Earl of <i>Anandaile.</i>
Earl of <i>Dumfermling.</i>		Earl of <i>Penmore.</i>
Earl of <i>Lauderdale.</i>		Earl of <i>Kinkairne.</i>
Earl of <i>Airly.</i>		Earl of <i>Balcarras.</i>
Earl of <i>Callender.</i>		

V I S C O U N T S.

Viscount <i>Stermont.</i>		Viscount <i>Dundee.</i>
Viscount <i>Oxenford.</i>		

L O R D S.

Lord <i>Sinclare.</i>		Lord <i>Bellantine.</i>
Lord <i>Lindores.</i>		Lord <i>Newark.</i>
Lord <i>Balmerino.</i>		Lord <i>Duffus.</i>
Lord <i>Dunkell.</i>		

Knights

Knights of the Shire and Burgeses.

Sir James Fowles of Collingtone-Stobs.		Ramsay of Bamff.
Sir John Dalryell. Wastraw.		Sir John Mackenzie. Boyne.
Sheriff of Bob.		Stanehope. Braikoe.

These are the Men whom the Memoir-Writer says, if they had stay'd at the Convention, and been Unanimous, were strong enough to have oppos'd the Friends to the Revolution, and have cross'd them in most of their Designs. He pretends, had that Representative been Dissolv'd, and a New One call'd, the Cavaliers would have had the Majority, which put the Others on an Unprecedented Shift, to turn the Convention into a Parliament. How true this is, one may judge by the Elections of all the Parliaments in Scotland since the Revolution. Wherein, notwithstanding the Jacobites were cunning enough to divide the Whigs into Court-Party and Country-Party, yet the Faction was still a pitiful, tho' a noisy Minority, unless when the Country-Party were such Bubbles as to be drawn away by specious Pretences to vote as they would have them.

But that the Reader may be out of all Doubt in this Matter, I shall give him an Account publish'd in the Year 1690, by the Ingenious and Learned Dr. Welwood.

“ I know

“ I know, *says he*, 'tis represented by some
 “ People, as if King *James* had a Considerable
 “ Party for him in *Scotland*, and that the *Highb-*
 “ *landers* were very strong and able to make
 “ their Party good. But from the Acquain-
 “ tance I have with some of the most Knowing
 “ of that Nation, I find our Enemies here take
 “ up Affairs there through a Magnifying-Glass;
 “ and that in the whole Kingdom there are
 “ none to own the late King's Interest but a
 “ few naked and rascally People, used to *Rapine*
 “ and *Theft*; and who are indeed no otherwise
 “ King *James's* Friends, than in so far, as under
 “ that Colour they may make Incursions upon
 “ their Neighbours for Booty. Neither is it the
 “ *Fifth* Part of those People the *Scots* call *Highb-*
 “ *landers*, that are engag'd in this Thieving
 “ Trade, for I cannot call it War, there being
 “ above *Four* Parts in *Five*, and those of the
 “ best, and under the greatest Chiefs of their
 “ *Clans*, as they call them, that are on our Side.
 “ And tho' these miserable Men for a while
 “ skulk up and down their inaccessible Moun-
 “ tains, yet the Methods that are just now ta-
 “ ken to bridle them in from making Inroads
 “ upon the Plain, must necessarily force them
 “ in a little Time, either to lay down their
 “ Arms, or to starve in their lurking Places.

What comes after, shews us, that the *Faction*
 in *Scotland*, who had none to support them but
 these *HIGHLANDERS*, gave the Government Distur-
 bance,

bance, not really for Account of Conscience, with respect either to Religion or the State, but purely to mend their Desperate Fortunes.

“ It has been the constant Practice, *continues*
 “ Dr. Welwood, of these wretched Sort of Peo-
 “ ple, to take Occasion of any Revolution in
 “ that Country, to better their Condition by
 “ Robbing the Lower Countries, till they were
 “ ever at last forc'd to surrender themselves for
 “ meer Want of Provisions, and to yield up the
 “ Necks of some of their *Ringleaders* to atone
 “ for the rest.

Thus we see that this Powerful Party of our Author's, is reduced to One *Fifth* Part of the *Scots Highlanders*, who are not a *Fifth* Part of the whole Kingdom; and yet with these he pretends the High-Church Champions could have prevented King *William's* being declared King, or the Church of *Scotland's* being *Establish'd* by *Law*; which is as probable, as that the Pretender with 4 or 5000 *Frenchmen*, and the *Highlanders* of *Scotland*, would have conquer'd *Great-Britain*, when *Great-Britain* was so near conquering *France*.

The Member of the *Scots* Convention, who made the Speech I have spoken, shews in the next Place the Folly of those that were for Calling King *James* back again.

“ If we do but Reflect, *continues he*, on the
 “ Motives which these Men, blinded by Self-
 “ Interest, make use of to Delude the Nation
 “ into

“ into a Security that wanted very little of pro-
 “ ving Fatal to it, and compare them with the
 “ Strong Reasons we have to dissuade us from
 “ being so impos’d on, they will be found so
 “ Weak and Impertinent, that we must judge
 “ it next to Impossibility to suffer our Selves to
 “ be twice deceived. But if the Experience of
 “ our Former Miseries, so lately hanging over
 “ our Heads (the very Thoughts of renewing
 “ which, make all good Men Tremble) has not
 “ made us Wiser, and be not of Efficacy e-
 “ nough to deter us from venturing another
 “ Shipwreck, and exposing all again to the
 “ Discretion of *Roman-Catholicks*, it’s more
 “ than probable that God has abandon’d us, and
 “ given us up to believe strong Delusions.

I shall not repeat what he says, in Answer to
 those that asserted the *Divine Unalienable Right*
of King James; nor his Argument to prove
that the Doctrine of Passive-Obedience was that
King’s Ruin. That no Limitation could secure the
Scots if he was brought back. That *His Religion*
would not suffer him to keep his Oaths with them.
 That *He had given no Evidence since his Depar-*
ture, that he would be Better for the future. That
Factions would not be extinguish’d by calling him
back. That *His calling back would enflame England*
and Scotland. That the *Prince of Orange’s Suc-*
cess had alter’d the Affairs of Europe; and the
Britains, instead of being Bully’d by *France*,
 might become Arbiters of all Affairs Abroad;
 which this *Scots Senator* amply Demonstrates.

I shall

I shall content my self with the last Paragraph of his Speech, which will shew us what sort of Men *the Memoir Writer's Cavalier Party*, was compos'd of, that their Pretences to Conscience in Matters of Religion or Government, may not impose upon us to mistake them at any Time for Men of Honour and Scruple.

“ I beseech you, *says the same Gentleman,*
 “ to consider what Persons they are who would
 “ instil Poison in you, and you will find them
 “ of three Kinds; *First,* Those who postpo-
 “ ning the Common Good of the Nation are
 “ wholly acted by Self-Interest, considering
 “ that in a Government where Justice and Mer-
 “ cy equally flourish, Virtue and Merit, not
 “ Villany will be Rewarded. *Secondly,* They
 “ who are Ignorant of the Nature of Govern-
 “ ment, and were never at the Pains to inform
 “ themselves what Measures the Law of Na-
 “ ture and Nations have set to Mens Obedience,
 “ but are angry at every Thing that thwarts
 “ their Wild Notions, and will admit of no-
 “ thing, tho' never so reasonable and convin-
 “ cing, if their dull Capacities cannot reach it.
 “ The *Third* sort are such as have been Instru-
 “ mental in the enslaving their Country, and
 “ are afraid, if they be call'd to an Account,
 “ they may be brought to suffer condign Pu-
 “ nishment: If such cannot succeed in their De-
 “ sign, they at least hope to be over-look'd in a
 “ General Confusion; so they leave nothing
 “ unessay'd

“ unessay’d that may tend to their own Safety ;
 “ And if Heaven fail them, they summon Hell
 “ to their Aid ; not that Love to their Prince,
 “ but meer Ambition and Interest, drive these
 “ Criminals to such Attempts ; neither are they
 “ much to blame that they are at such Pains to
 “ sow Divisions among us. But no Person of
 “ Wit and Judgment, nor any good Man that
 “ is truly Protestant, and minds the Good of his
 “ Country, will suffer himself to be so grossly
 “ impos’d upon by such Firebrands, who would
 “ build their future Imaginary Greatness, on
 “ the Ruin of our Religion, Laws, and Country.
 We see therefore by the Judgment of a very
 Wise and Experienc’d Gentleman, given in Par-
 liament, That the *Cavalier Party* in *Scotland*
 compos’d of *Papists* and *Tories*, were

1. *Misers*, and *Mercenaries*.
2. *Fools*, and *Blockheads*.
3. *Criminals*, and *Traytors*.

And taking our Author’s Countryman’s Word
 for it, let us enquire into the Behaviour of this
 Honest Party, while all True *Scotsmen* were
 doing their utmost, in their several Stations, to
 settle and establish the Revolution and Protestant
 Succession.

Of the third Sort of Malecontents was the
Dundee Viscount before-mention’d, whom the
 Faction extol as the Man of the Greatest Ho-
 nour, Courage, and Capacity in *Scotland*.

This Viscount, as I have it from one of the most knowing and learned Gentlemen of *North-Britain*, had been one of the Greatest Instruments of the Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government in the Reigns of King *Charles* and King *James*; One of the Chief Persecutors and Plunderers of the *Presbyterians*; and had by such ill Practices made himself the most Obnoxious of all the *Tories*, to the Protestant Party in *Scotland*, of whom he had ruin'd a great Number of Families, in Prosecution of the Orders he procur'd from Court. He happen'd to be in *London* when King *James* went away, and tho' he did not joyn with the other *Scots* Lords, in their Addresses to the Prince of *Orange*, he declar'd on all Occasions that he design'd to go Home and live privately, and submit to what Government the States of that Kingdom should agree to. Accordingly he returned to *Scotland*, and when the Convention met at *Edinburgh*, by Virtue of His Highness the Prince of *Orange's* Circular Letters, he was not only present as a Member, summon'd to it by that Authority, but did actually concur with the rest, In acknowledging the Convention to be a free and lawful Meeting of the Estates of *Scotland*; which Acknowledgment he Sign'd with his own Hand. And that acquiescing of his to an Act of Government, so contrary to King *James's* Indefeasible, Unalienable Right, was as much Rebellion against that King, as his taking Arms against King *William* afterwards,

when

when he had submitted to the Authority that put the Crown upon his Head. So inconsistent was this Viscount with himself in his Practices. We must therefore look out for some other Reason, besides his Loyalty to King *James*, for his *Rebelling* against King *William* and Queen *Mary*; and the *Scots* Gentleman from whom I had the former Part of this Relation, informed me further, That *Edinburgh* being then full of a great many People, who the Viscount *Dundee* knew had Reason to resent the *Severities* he had practis'd upon them for the Space of a great many Years together; he began to suspect some Design against himself from these People, whereas indeed there was no such Thing: He represented his Fears to some of the greatest Character there, saying, *If he might have an Act of Indemnity, he would find Bail to live at Hamburgh, or any other Place Abroad.* The Convention, tho' they had had no Informations against him, were not unacquainted with his Guilt, but did not think fit to enter upon so nice a Business. Their Caution in this Matter increasing *Dundee's* Jealousies, he turn'd his Thoughts to *France*, resolving to Support himself by the Assistance of King *James*, and his fast Friend the *French* King: In order to this, he sent an Agent to *France*, and propos'd an Insurrection in the *North* for King *James*, in Case he was supply'd with Money for the present, and Men afterwards. His Fears growing daily Stronger, as the Remembrance of his Guilt

magnify'd them; he did not stay for either Men or Money, but in Concert with a few other Malecontents, left the Convention, and took Arms for *Episcopacy*, as was at first given out to strengthen their Party; a Bill for abolishing it being said to be intended by the Parliament; and this Pretence he hop'd would make him Friends both in *England* and *Scotland*, by whose Assistance he might be able to maintain himself till he receiv'd his *French* Supplies of Men and Money; but that Pretence of his not succeeding to his Wish, he declar'd openly for King *James*, from whom he receiv'd a Declaration, which he Publish'd, and 'twas also sent to the *Convention* at *Edinburgh*, who rejected it with Indignation.

This is the True State of *Dundee's* Case. And let the Reader judge, whether *Fear* of Punishment, or *Hope* of Reward, determin'd him most to do as he did. Whether it was *Jealousy* or *Loyalty*; or whether a Man, whose Life had been almost continually employ'd in ruining and oppressing Innocent Men, in Attempts against the Religion and Liberty of his Country, can justly be said to act in any Quarrel with Conscience and Honour. I have spoken the more largely of him, because the *Memoir Writer* sets him in the Front of his *Cavaliers*, in the 2d Page of his Book.

With *Dundee* joyn'd the Viscount *Stormont*; the Lord *Livingston*, the Lord *Bellendine*, the Lord *Drumcairne* did the same; and these Four
were

were the principal Men of the Cavalier-Party, which the Author represents as compos'd of the most Noble and Puissant Lords and Gentlemen in *Scotland*: Whereas, on the contrary, the greatest Lords and Gentlemen, and the *Nine* in *Ten* of the Commons were for the Constitution as the Estates had establish'd it. For immediately upon *Dundee's* abrupt leaving of the Convention, and threatning a *Rebellion* with his *Passive Obedience Men* in the *North*; The Earl of *Argyle*, the Earl of *Mar*, the Viscount of *Kinnure*, the Laird of *Grant*, and the Laird of *Macfarlane*, offer'd the Convention to raise each a Regiment of Foot; the Lord *Cardross* a Regiment of Dragoons; the Young Laird of *Grubbet* a Troop of Horse; Sir *Patrick Hume* a Troop of Horse; and other Gentlemen made the same Offer; whose Characters shew us the Falsity of the Memoir Writer's Scandal on the Loyal Party in *Scotland*, that they were the *Meanest* and the *Minority*; the contrary of which will further appear by a List of the Lords and Gentlemen, who, as soon as 'twas known that *Dundee* was in the *North* at the Head of 150 Horse, repair'd to their several Counties, rais'd Forces to oppose him, and would have suppress'd his *Rebellion* without the Assistance of any Regular Troops, had not *Dundee* receiv'd Supplies of Men, Money and Arms from *France* and *Ireland*.

The Earl of *Eglington* put himself at the Head of the Militia of the Counties of *Aire* and *Renfrew*.

The Earl of *Anandaile* did the same in the Counties of *Dumfreis* and *Wigtoun*.

Lord *Yster* in *Haddington* and *Berwick* County.

Lord *Newbottle* in *Roxburgh* and *Selkirk* Counties.

Lord *Ross* in *Peebles*, *Linlithgow* and *Edinburgh* Counties.

Lord *Belhaven* in *Lanerk*, *Striveling* and *Clackmannon* Counties.

Lord *Rollo* in *Forfar*, *Kincarden* and *Aberdeen* Counties. The same in the Counties of *Bamff*, *Murray*, *Nairne*, *Inverness*.

Laird of *Blair* in *Perth*; he was surpriz'd there by *Dundee*.

Sir *Charles Hacket* in *Fife* and *Kinross*.

There cannot remain the least Room to question the strong Foundation on which the Revolution in *Scotland* was built; and its Enemies were so far from being considerable, that had they not been encourag'd by the *Faction* in *England*, and the Invasion of *Ireland* by King *James*, and his Army of *French* Papists, there soon would have been an End put to *Jacobitism* in *Scotland*. But as the *Jacobites* and *Tories* have always had a *desperate* Cause to manage, so have they acted always like Men in Despair. They began their Wicked Plots in the Beginning of King *William's* Reign, and continu'd them to the End of it. His Majesty had not been proclaim'd in *Scotland* above two or three Months,

Months, before the Duke of *Hamilton*, the King's High Commiſſioner, receiv'd the following Letter from an Unknown Hand.

July 6. 1689.

May it please Your Grace:

THis Night about Six a Clock I was inform'd of some Evil-inclin'd Persons, who certainly deſign ſome Wicked Enterprize; What it is, I know not; but the particular Persons are theſe eſpecially belonging to the Caſtle, viz. Winſter, Scot, Dumbar at Leith, Innks, one Felſter, one Wrywhart, with many Others concern'd therein, by a ſubſcrib'd Paper which ſome of them has. There is one Colonel Wilſon, Butler, and Dumbar, with ſome other of the Engliſh and Irith Officers lurking in Town, in Black-fuer-Wynne; Likewise Capt. Douglas, Kellhead's Brother, Lees, Prin-
gle, and ſeveral Others I am ſurely inform'd of; which, I thought it my Duty, in Conſcience, to acquaint Your Grace with, that by the Lord's Providence their Pernicious Deſigns may be fruſtrate by timely preventing them. I can ſay to my Information, To-morrow, or Monday at fartheſt, they intend to put in Execution. Let not Your Grace deſpiſe this Advertiſement, for I aſſure Your Grace it is no Lye, as will be ſeen, if not ſpeedily prevented. I was almoſt engag'd my ſelf, which makes me know the Truth. I leave the Care of this to Your Grace's wiſe Determination, and ſhall ever pray for the Continuance of
F 4 the

the True Protestant Religion, though I have been
 misled for a Time, and subscribe my self till fur-
 ther Knowledge,

J. 3. a K.

This Plot was to betray the Forces Command-
 ed by General *Mackay* to *Dundee*, and to seize
 that General in his Tent. They had also an
 Association carrying on at *Edinburgh*, and were
 to raise an Insurrection there to make a Diversion
 in favour of the *Northern* Rebels. Among the
 Conspirators we find Two High-flying Parsons,
 Mr. *Mill*, Minister of *Camsie*, and Mr. *Forrester*,
 a Servant of *Dundee's* *John Parveuse* was his
 Agent at *Edinburgh* to forward the Design: In
 which were engag'd

The Duke of <i>Gordon</i> ,	Lord <i>Lochore</i> ,
Earl of <i>Hume</i> ,	Laird of <i>Larg</i> .
Lord <i>Oxenford</i> ,	

And several Officers: As,

Lieut. Coll. <i>Levingstone</i> ,	Capt. <i>Wawchup</i> ,
Lieut. Coll. <i>Middleton</i> ,	Capt. <i>Wilson</i> ,
Lieut. Coll. <i>Wilson</i> ,	Capt. <i>Dumbar</i> ,
Capt. <i>Douglass</i> ,	Capt. <i>Butler</i> , & Others.

They were all apprehended and imprison'd.
 Upon Examination Lieutenant Collonel *Leving-
 stone* confess'd the whole Conspiracy, and the
 Prisoners threw themselves on the King's Mercy.
 Here were *Papists* and *Tories* lovingly united in
 a Plot

a Plot to Massacre the Protestants of *Scotland*. For what else would have been the Consequence of putting *Dundee*, and his *Highland* Popish Lairds, at the Head of an Army, against a Defenceless People, as the *Scots* would have been when *Mackay* and his Forces were betray'd to the Enemy? The Malecontents, who left the Parliament, because they would not take the Oaths, were not Idle, their Heads were at work to make their Country a Scene of Slaughter, of Spoil: But the good Providence of God disappointed them in their Devices, and this the First *Jacobite* and *Tory* Plot against King *William*, only gave his Majesty an Opportunity to confound them with his Clemency; not one of those Traytors being Executed, though they all so richly deserv'd the Gallows. That there was such a damnable Design, is most certain; the Parliament passing an Act to allow Torture to be made use to force the Traytors to confess: In which it is said, *That Conspirators met and subscrib'd a Bond, having Designs against the Government*: And this Torture-Act, made for this Purpose only, so frighten'd the Conspirators, that their Confession was very particular and full. It occasion'd a Proclamation to be Issu'd out against *Dundee*, with a Promise of a Reward of 18000 *Scots* Marks to any one that should deliver him dead or alive. In the same Proclamation are mention'd *Alexander* Earl of *Dumfermling*, Lord *Dunkeld*, Sir *Euen* *Cameron*, *Mackdonald* of *Gengarie*, *Mackdonald* of *Glencoe*, &c.

The

The latter I shall have occasion to speak of more particularly in the Sequel of this Treatise.

I cannot omit one Incident, which shews the Spirit of the *Tories*, and what Usage one might expect from them if 'twere in their Power. Upon the Passing the Test-Act, several Lords, who had till then sat in Parliament, left the House, and some of them the City of *Edinburgh*. Of the latter was the Lord *Bellantine*, who going out of Town on the 12th of *July* 1689, about Nine a Clock at Night; and being without the Gate call'd the *Pleasants*, seeing a Soldier of Major General *Mackay's* own Regiment there upon Duty, ask'd him, *Whom he was for?* The Soldier answer'd, *For King William and Queen Mary*. Upon which this *Tory* Lord drew out his Pistol, shot him dead upon the Place; saying, *Here's King James's Pass to you*; and so fled away with one Servant accompanying him. The Privy-Council publish'd a Proclamation, Commanding all Persons to seize him, with an Offer of 2000 Marks Reward to those who should apprehend and secure him.

About the same time *Dundee* sent a Message to *Duncan Mackphorsan* of *Clany*, the Chief of the Tribe of that Name, requiring him to come and join him, with all his Followers, at the Head of *Lochness*; threatning, that in case he fail'd to do it, he would burn and destroy all his Country with Fire and Sword. To which *Clany* return'd Answer, *That when he was last there, he*
plunder'd

plunder'd and destroy'd all, and had left nothing but the empty Habitations and Land: Which he was not much afraid of being blown up. I take notice of this, to shew that this Rebel had with him only a Band of Banditti, whose chief Aim was Plunder; and yet he is one of the Heroes of our Memoir - Writer's Cavalier Party. Macpherson was a Higblander as well as Glenco; but perceiving what was the Drift of those Robbers, he would not join with him; and for his Security, went in with his Tribe to Major-General Mackay; there being some, even of the Scots Papists, who would not go the Lengths of the Tories in their Attempts to ruin their Country.

Having shewn that this Cavalier Party, instead of being so Numerous and Powerful as is pretended by this Author, and Men of such Honour and Merit, *were* really a Parcel of beggarly Bigotted Criminal Malecontents, not One in Ten of the Scots Nation; and thereby prov'd his First Assertion, on which the whole Importance of his Party is built, to be false; I shall a little further Consider their Actions after King James's Abdication. We shall see in the Prosecution of this Matter, that there was an exact Correspondence between the Measures of the English and Scots Jacobite Factions, and that they all center'd in Obstructions given to those of the Court; not because they were not for the Interest of Great-Britain, but because they were for the Security of the Two Kingdoms

doms against Popery and Slavery, tending to keep out King *James*, and the Pretender.

I have observ'd the Earl of *S* — *d* spoke warmly in the *Convention* Parliament on the Side of the *Jacobites*; and tho' he fell in with the Government in King *William*, and Queen *Anne's* Reigns, yet we need not doubt but he kept still those Principles which put him upon opposing the *Revolution*, in as much as he was a Confident of the *Late Managers*, One of their *Sixteen Peers*, and a great Stickler for their Ministry.

The Faction not having been able to hinder the Crown's being set upon the Heads of King *William* and *Mary*, continu'd never the less to make it as uneasy to them as possible, and oppos'd every Act which favour'd Liberty, either Religious or Civil, especially such as diminish'd in any Manner the Power of the *Priesthood*: The Act to Abolish Episcopacy was past in *Scotland* the 1st of *July*, 1689, and the Faction having in vain oppos'd the Passing of it, cry'd out against it, as one of the most terrible *Persecutions* that ever had befallen the Church; Pamphlets were Publish'd in *England*, giving dreadful Accounts of the Severities exercis'd towards the *Episcopalians* in *Scotland*: The *Church of England*, said the Authors, would be the next Sufferers, *Presbytery* was prevailing, and *Danger* threaten'd the *Orthodox*. Tho' all this Clamour was grounded on a Lie, yet it fail'd not to have the design'd Effect in *England*, and the

the *Jacobites* made use of it to gain over great Numbers of *High-Church-Men* to their Party. The *Memoir-Writer* says, p. 3. That the *Convention Establish'd Presbytery*, not pretending it was agreeable to the Word of God, but as suited to the Inclinations of the People. The Falsity of which will be best seen by a Clause in the *Act of Security*, confirming the former *Act for Abolishing Episcopacy*, wherein 'tis express'd, That it was to Establish and Preserve the True Reform'd Protestant Religion, and the True Church of Christ in its Presbyterian Government and Discipline, as being agreeable to the Word of God. And he tells us, the Marquis of *Lothian* said then, He was sure the Presbyterian Government was the best Part of the Christian Religion.

But while all this Noise was made about the *Hardships* put upon the *Episcopal Clergy* in *Scotland*, on purpose to set the Nation against the King and his Ministers for suffering it; the *Presbyterians* found by sad Experience, that the Court was very far from being really in their Interests: It was a long while after *Prelacy* was Abolish'd in *Scotland*, that *Presbytery* was Establish'd; and the *Scots* complain'd that their General Assemblies were adjourn'd and dissolv'd, contrary to the express Statute; and *Commissions of Assemblies* sent to put a Stop to the Exercise of their Jurisdiction. One of their Authors writes thus, If *Presbytery* once loses the Affections of the People of *Scotland*, it can be of no more
Use

Use to the Court, but will afford them as good an Opportunity as Heart can wish, to ingratiate themselves with the Church of England, which is by much the greatest Interest in that Nation. All the dismal Stories told of the Scots Persecution, center'd in the silencing such Jacobite Priests as would not take the Oaths to King William and Queen Mary: And the Truth is, most of the Episcopal Clergy of Scotland were Dissenters from the Government there, as well as the Church, and to tolerate them was to tolerate Treason and Sedition.

How will the Reader be surpriz'd, if after he has read the Exaggerations of the *Tories*, on the pretended Persecution in *Scotland*, he finds it centers all in calling a few disaffected Ministers before the Parliament, and obliging them to obey the Laws, or to resign their Benefices. I have by me the Journals of that Parliament, and shall give what Instances I there meet with of this dreadful Persecution.

The first Minister the Parliament call'd before them, was,

Mr. *James Wagh*, Minister of *South-Leith*; who being examin'd, acknowledg'd he had not obey'd the Proclamation, commanding Prayers for King *William* and Queen *Mary*; so pursuant to the Test-Act, the Committee appointed for that Purpose pass'd Sentence upon him for his Disobedience; *That he should be deprived of his Benefice, and his Church declared Vacant; and that*

that the Sentence be intimate by a Messenger at the Church-door the next Sabbath.

Mr. *John Somervaile*, Minister at *Craremond*, being examin'd, and refusing to promise Obedience, was depriv'd also; as were for the same Offence,

Mr. *George Barclay*, Minister of *Mordingtown*.

Mr. *Arthur Miller*, Minister of *Inverask*, for refusing to read the Proclamation.

Mr. *Alexander Irvine*, Minister of *Inverkeitling*, for refusing to appear before the Committee, and afterwards refusing to obey the Proclamation.

This Man, like our *Tory*-Priests, would not pray for King *William* and Queen *Mary*; and being examin'd, acknowledg'd he had read it, but had not obey'd it, praying only for the King and Queen, and those in Authority, as he thought it his Duty so to do.

Mr. *David Launy*, Minister of *Carringtoun*, was depriv'd for the same Disobedience; As were also

Dr. *Richard Waddall*, Archdeacon of *St. Andrews*.

Mr. *John Wood*, one of the Ministers of *St. Andrews*.

Mr. *Andrew Affleet*, Minister of *Newbottle*.

Mr. *George Hendry*, Minister of *Carstopbin*; who besides refusing Obedience to the Laws, spoke treasonable Words, and was therefore sent Prisoner to the *Talboth*.

Mr. *James*

Mr. *James Hunter*, Minister of *Striveling*, said in his Excuse, That tho' he had not prayed for King *William* and Queen *Mary*, he had prayed for the *Nephew Royal*, and the *Princess Royal*: This Tory Priest could Pray for them, tho' he would not own them as King and Queen: He had the Conscience to put up his Prayers for those whom he look'd upon as Usurpers, but was so squeamish he could not Pray for a King and Queen, made, as he said himself, by the *Estates of his Country*. Witnesses prov'd, that tho' he had pray'd for the Royal Nephew, and the Princess Royal, he had also prayed that King *James might be restored*, with some other Expressions reflecting on the Government. If the Prayers of such Priests signify'd any Thing, what a sad Condition had we been in e're this Time.

Mr. *Barclay*, the High-Church Minister of *Perth*, corresponded with *Dundee*, and was order'd to be sent up Prisoner by the Provost of that Town.

Mr. *John Waters*, Minister of *Ceiris*, was depriv'd for refusing Obedience to the Laws.

Many others were cited to appear, but these were all that the Parliament depriv'd of their Benefices. For the Act which Abolish'd Prelacy, disqualifying all those that would not conform to *Presbytery*; the Church of *Scotland* took Cognizance of the Matter, and the State was discharg'd of the Pretended Persecution. The Act shews, that the Present Church of that Kingdom

Kingdom is the Original Establishment by Law, that Prelacy was there an Usurpation, and that the restoring the Kirk was not only merely Politick, but just and reasonable ; the Statute runs thus :

An ACT Abolishing PRELACY.

*W*Hereas the Estates of this Kingdom in their Claims of Right, the 11th of April last, declared, That Prelacy's Superiority in any Office in the Church above Presbyters, is, and hath been a great and insupportable Grievance to the Nation, and contrary to the Inclinations of the generality of the People, ever since the Reformation, they having reform'd from Popery by Presbyters, and therefore ought to be rescinded: Our Sovereign Lord and Lady, the King and Queen's Majesty's do hereby Abolish Prelacy and Superiority in any Office in the Church above Presbyters in this Kingdom: And hereby rescind, cass, and annul the First Act of the Second Session of the First Parliament of King Charles the Second; and the Second Act of the Third Session of the Second Parliament of King Charles the Second; and the Fourth Act of the Third Parliament of King Charles the Second; and all other Acts, Statutes, and Constitutions, in so far only as they are inconsistent with this Act, and do Establish Prelacy, or the Superiority of Church Officers above Presbyters. And the King and Queen's Majesties do declare, That they,

G

with

with the Advice and Consent of the Estates of this Parliament, will settle by Law that Church Government in this Kingdom, which is most agreeable to the Inclinations of the People.

By this it appears, That the Episcopal Clergy in *Scotland* had broken in upon the *Reformation* there, and that the Church Constitution was *Presbyterian*. Thus the Complaint of Grievances and Persecutions, which the *Presbyterians* had justly made for so many Years, was groundless in the *Episcopalians*, who only gave Place to those whom they had unjustly remov'd. Besides, tho' the *High-Church of England Men* exclaim'd so much against the Treatment the *Scots* Bishops met with, there was not so much Reason for such Concern of theirs as not to leave ground for Suspicion, that 'twas affected by the *Tories*. The *Episcopal Church of Scotland*, had no *Liturgy*, nor any Thing else in *Divine Service* conformable to the Church of *England*: The King's Supremacy was so Absolute, that the Office of a Bishop there was, as we are told by *Dr. Welwood*, conferr'd only *Durante Bene Placito*, and that *Tory King*, King *James the VIIth*, exercis'd it in the Deprivation of *Doctor Bruce*, a Person of Learning and Probity. This Gentleman having appear'd with a great deal of Zeal against the taking off the Penal Laws, in the Parliament 1686, was depriv'd of his Bishoprick of *Dunkeld*, and another Bishop immediately put in his Room; and all this by a single

single Letter directed from the King, to his Council, which besides depriving him of his Bishoprick, declar'd him incapable of any other Inferior Benefice within the Kingdom. Is it likely our High-Church *Independants* had the Support of such a *Dependant* Church, as that *Scots* one was, at Heart? A Church without *Common-Prayer*, or without *Bishops*, but such as were made and unmade by the Breath of the King. All their Clamour was not so much for the Hierarchy, which they must surely despise, as against the Government; not for a *Protestant* Prelacy, but a *Popish* King. And thus is the Case of Church and Prelacy to be taken in *North* and *South-Britain*.

There was not a Man in the *Scots* Parliament who stickled more against Prelacy, than the Duke of *Hamilton*; an Instance of which, was a Reply of his to the Viscount of *Tarbat*, who, when the Bill, to turn the Convention into a Parliament, was debating, upon the Viscount of *Tarbat's* saying, *They could not pass the Act legally without the Bishops Vote therein*, made Answer, *That they could do it without him and them either, since the Convention had excluded them as a Grievance*: Notwithstanding the Viscount's Motion in Favour of the Bishops, he was himself one of the Committee appointed to draw up this Bill without them; the others were the Earl of *Lothian*, Sir *Patrick Hume*, Mr. *David Spence*, and Mr. *William Hamilton*, who was about the same Time Knighted by the

Duke of *Hamilton*, His Majesty's High Commissioner. Ten Days after this Act past, the Test Bill was brought in by the Lord *Ross*, which after having recogniz'd their Majesties Title, and made it *Treason to say or act any Thing contrary to the same*, appointed the following Oath to be read, *I A. B. do solemnly Swear in the Presence of God, that I will bear Faith and true Allegiance to King William and Queen Mary : So help me God.*

There was but one Dissenting Vote to this Bill, and that was the Earl of *Kincardin's*. The next Year this Act was confirm'd by that of Assurance elsewhere mention'd ; and several Members of the Three Estates absented themselves from Parliament, *viz.*

Duke of <i>Queensbury</i> .	Viscount <i>Dundee</i> .
Marquis of <i>Athol</i> .	Lord <i>Sinclair</i> .
Earl of <i>Caitness</i> .	Lord <i>Balmernock</i> .
Earl of <i>Dumferling</i> .	Lord <i>Dunkeld</i> .
Earl of <i>Strathmore</i> .	Lord <i>Duffus</i> .
Earl of <i>Lauderdale</i> .	Lord <i>Ballendine</i> .
Earl of <i>Southesk</i> .	Sir <i>James Fowles</i> .
Earl of <i>Airly</i> .	Sir <i>William Elliot</i> .
Earl of <i>Callender</i> .	Sir <i>James Stewart</i> .
Earl of <i>Pannuire</i> .	Sir <i>Patrick Ogilvie</i> .
Earl of <i>Kincairden</i> .	Mr. <i>David Murray</i> .
Earl of <i>Brodalbine</i> .	Mr. <i>John Hadden</i> .
Earl of <i>Aberdeen</i> .	Mr. <i>William Craigy</i> .
Viscount <i>Oxenford</i> .	Mr. <i>Henry Mauld</i> .
Viscount <i>Tarbat</i> .	Mr. <i>Robert Stewart</i> .
	Mr. <i>Thomas</i>

Mr. <i>Thomas Tullock.</i>		Mr. <i>Kenneth Mackenzie.</i>
Mr. <i>Hugh Wallage.</i>		Mr. <i>John Anderson.</i>
Mr. <i>George Beatone.</i>		Mr. <i>George Trail.</i>
Mr. <i>Robert Innes.</i>		Mr. <i>William Beattie.</i>

Of these Sir *James Stewart*, Sheriff of *Bute*, was soon after sent to the *Talbooth* for holding a Correspondence with *Dundee*, his Man being intercepted by Col. *Cleland*, carrying Letters to that Rebel.

Several of these came in afterwards and took the Oaths, but they still kept their *Jacobite* Principles; and were therefore employ'd by the late Managers, as will be seen by comparing the Lists of the Peers sent from *Scotland* to their Two *Tory* Parliaments, which I have added at the End of this Treatise.

The Villany of those that gave out false Accounts of the Cruelties exercis'd on the *Episcopal* Clergy of *Scotland*, appears not more in any thing than the Act which pass'd at that very time, *rescinding all Penal Laws on such as separated from the New-establish'd Church, or that kept Conventicles, and taking away all Tests or other Letts, in order to incapacitate all Protestants for Employments, without Distinction; and that every Man may have full Liberty to serve God in his own Way*: Which are the very Words of the Act, and is an Instance of an Easiness allow'd by the *Presbyterians*, to those of the *Episcopal* Perswasion, by an Act of Parliament in King *William's* Reign, which the *Presbyterians*

could never obtain from them by all the Instances they could make in the Two preceding Reigns. This did the *Scots* do at the same time that the *English* Shackled the *Presbyterians* in *England* with a 500*l.* *Sacramental Test*; and all the while did the *Faction* in that Kingdom rail at the Severity of the *Scots* *Presbyterians*, which was equally Impudent and Unjust.

The Fact is this, The Persecuted Clergy would not submit to the Laws, they would keep open their Conventicles on their own Terms; they would not acknowledge King *William's* Government, and were therefore justly prosecuted by it. I have by me a Letter written by the Earl of *Craford*, then President of the Parliament, and a Privy-Counsellor, to a Gentleman in *London*, which clears up this Matter entirely, and charges *Sedition* as well as *Schism* on those *Scots* Non-juring Fanaticks.

S I R,

I Have this Day seen that Pamphlet, entituled, An Account of the Present Persecution of the Church in *Scotland*. And if I had leisure for such a Task as the Answering of that Paper, I am furnish'd with a better Stock of Knowledge in the Matters there treated of than any Scotchman, having been an Actor in all the Judicatories, and at every Dyet since the Change of the Government; and by Informations sent me from all the Corners of the Country, always acquainted with the least Circumstance of all those Transactions.

actions. I will be bold to say, that not only there is not one Syllable of Truth in what is asserted of me in that Pamphlet, but that the very Foundations of Stories reported of others is for the most Part false, and as Things are in that Paper circumstantiated, in every Instance notoriously mistaken. For Evidence of this, I sent up to the Secretary the whole Proceedings of the Council in terminis without changing one single Word, either in the Judgments, Confessions, Probations or Sentences. And to answer all in one word, I peremptorily affirm, that neither by the Meeting of Estates nor Privy-Council has any Person been questioned, much less censured for their Opinion or Practice in Church-Government, but upon that alone Ground of disowning the King's Authority, either directly or consequentially by denying to pray for him; yea, the Council was so favourable and tender in depriving of Ministers, as if they had been proceeding in Matters of Blood: Inso-much that they acquitted three or four and thirty of them, whose Libels were not distinctly and fully prov'd; though at the same time Crimes of another Nature were evidently made out against several of them, the Cognizance whereof did no ways belong to us. The Post is ready to go, and so I take my leave, and am,

S I R,

Yours, &c.

C R A F O R D.

Edinburgh, March

16. 1690.

It appears by this that the *Jacobites*, like their Father, have been *Lyars* from the Beginning; and that in *Scotland* their Complaint of Persecution has been only the Consequence of Silencing such *Priests* as would have Subverted the Constitution, brought in King *James* or his pretended Son, and destroy'd both Church and State.

The Convention in *Scotland*, as has been seen by their Proceedings, was one of the best Parliaments that ever met in that Kingdom: They pass'd more good Laws than ever had been enacted in a Century, and that before hinted among the rest, call'd the *Test of Assurance*; by which all that took it declar'd they believ'd King *William* and *Queen Mary* to be King and Queen of this Kingdom de jure as well as de facto, and engag'd to defend their Titles as such with their Lives and Fortunes. This *Test* was to be taken by all Members of Parliament, all Officers Civil or Military, and all *Ecclesiasticks*, under the Penalty of Deprivation; and it was by this Statute that so many of the Prelatical *Priests* were depriv'd. On which Account the Memoir-Writer takes upon him to Stigmatize this Brave and Loyal Scots Representative, as Old forfeited Rebels, Gentlemen of no Fortune, Respect or Families. The contrary of which is in every Particular true. The Instances I have given of their Proceedings, prove them to be an Assembly of Patriots, whose Names ought to be dear to all True Britains.

The Ministry in *England* being compounded of good and bad *Englishmen*, such as had serv'd King *Charles* and King *James* in their Designs upon our Liberty, and such as had oppos'd them; this fatal Medley prevented the calling *State-Criminals* to Account in *England*. And the *Scots* Convention being apprehensive they might do the same in *Scotland*, pass'd an Act, in which was this Clause worth the Perusal of every good *Britain*, and more useful now than at any other time, since we have had a *New Deliverance* out of the Hands of Wicked and Corrupt Ministers. The Clause is this :

“ The King and Queen’s Majesties, considering that the Estates of this Kingdom have by their Vote declar’d their Sense and Opinion, That such as have in the former Evil Government been grievous to the Nation, or have shew’d Disaffection to the happy Change, by the Blessing of God now brought about, or have been Retarders and Obstructors of the good Designs of the said Estates in their Meeting, are not fit to be employ’d in the Management of the Affairs of this Kingdom, do with the Advice and Consent of the Estates in Parliament now Assembled, Statute and Ordain, That no Person of whatsoever Rank or Degree, who in the former Evil Government have been grievous to the Nation, by acting in the Incroachments mention’d in the Articles of the Claim of Right, which are declar’d to be contrary to Law, or who
hath

“ hath shewn Difaffection to the happy Change,
 “ by the Blessing of God now brought about,
 “ by acting in Opposition thereunto, since the
 “ Time that the King and Queen now reigning
 “ were proclaim’d, or that hath been a Retar-
 “ der or Obstrufter of the good Designs of the
 “ said Estates, *viz.* The Securing the Protestant
 “ Religion, the Settling the Crown, the Esta-
 “ blishing the Rights of the Lieges, and the Re-
 “ dressing their Grievances, by acting contrary
 “ to these good Designs, since the Time that they
 “ became publick by Votes, and Acts of Meet-
 “ ing; be allow’d to possess, or be admitted into
 “ any Publick Trust, Place or Employment un-
 “ der their Majesties in this Kingdom.

Such were the wise Sentiments, and such
 would have been the good Law of this Memo-
 rable *Scots* Parliament; but the Courtiers in
England represented to King *William*, that ’twas
 not consistent with his accustom’d Lenity and
 Moderation to refuse the Submission of Penitent
 Offenders, nor with Wisdom and Justice to deny
 himself the Services of his able, and for the fu-
 ture faithful Servants. A Maxim which pre-
 vail’d at Court after the Revolution, brought
 many of the Offenders the Prince of *Orange*
 came to prosecute as *Evil Counsellors* into the Ad-
 ministration; whence proceeded all the Mischiefs
 of that Reign. The King was betray’d and per-
 plex’d in his Councils both in *England* and *Scot-*
land, and too late saw his Error: It was a se-
 vere

vere Prediction, as well as Observation, which the late Prince of *Conde* made upon the News of King *Charles* the Second's Death, and of his Brother's succeeding him: *That he was like to be well serv'd, when he had none about him but his own Fools, and his Predecessor's Knaves.* Upon occasion of the Court's rejecting this good Bill, the *Scots* sent up an Address to King *William*, entitled, *The Humble Representation of the Lords and Commissioners of Shires and Boroughs of the Kingdom of Scotland, Under-Subscribers and Members of this Current Parliament.* Which was deliver'd to King *William* by their Deputies at *Hampton-Court*, Octob. the 15th, 1689. And that Paragraph of it which relates to the above-mention'd Act, is as follows.

“ The Third is an Act anent Persons not
 “ to be employ'd in Publick Trusts. All the
 “ Ruins and Distresses of this Kingdom have
 “ certainly flow'd from the Persons therein
 “ noted, especially such as by their contriving
 “ of and concurring in the Dispensing Power,
 “ have thereby eminently endanger'd our Reli-
 “ gion, and overturn'd all the Fences of our
 “ Liberties and Properties, (which we have
 “ good Ground to believe the Parliament would
 “ have extended but to few Persons.) And
 “ your Majesty in your Declaration hath so
 “ justly charged the same upon Evil and Wicked
 “ Counsellors, (the only Persons pointed at in
 “ this Act,) that we are perswaded that you
 “ will

“ will find it absolutely necessary for attaining
 “ all the Ends of your Majesty’s glorious Un-
 “ dertaking for our Relief.

This true *Scottish* Spirit could not sure come from a Parcel of Old *Beggarly* Gentlemen, the Relicts of a *Rebellious Rump*. What could be more dutiful with Respect to their *King*? What more Wise and more Just with Respect to their *Country*? They pass’d Four other Bills; As One about *the Parliaments appointing their own Committees, excluding Officers of State*.

When this Bill, which redress’d the Grievance of the Lords of the Articles was presented to the House; the Earl of *Craford*, President of the Parliament, spoke to this Effect :

That they were now in another Station than they were formerly, viz. The Supreme Court of the Kingdom, and so happy in a King, who prefers the Justice, Rights and Interests of his People to his own Prerogative, and who crav’d nothing of them but what was to make them Happy; viz. That they should lay aside all Animosities and private Differences, and make the Publick Good, the only Motive and End of their Actings: Which Things, as they were always necessary, so especially in this Juncture, when they had Religion, the Government of the Church, and the Just Rights of the Subjects to establish, and Grievances to Redress: That Christianity teaches Unity. Their King craves, and the present Juncture makes it indispensibly necessary, and
 God’s

God's Blessing always attends it. That the King had put it fully in their Power to make such Laws as might secure to them their Religion and Property, wherein if they failed, it would be their own Fault. That the Eyes of their Enemies were upon them, waiting for their halting; and that nothing could encourage or strengthen them more than Animosities and Divisions among themselves.

In this Happy State had the Revolution put the Scots Nation, and the Faction were labouring to prevent their enjoying the Blessing of Law, and the Sweets of Liberty. The Parliament past another Act *about the Supremacy*, to make it more conformable to their Church Government: Another about *Nomination of the Session, and Election of the President*; and Another for restoring the Ministers ejected in 1661. There were not above Sixty of these Ministers then living; but such was the Inveteracy of the *High-Church Party in England*, against the *Scots Presbyterians*, that by their Influence, a *Negative* was given to this, and the other Excellent Acts beforemention'd; and for fear this *True Scottish Parliament* should fall upon their *Ministry*, for the Obstructions the passing of those Acts met with from them, the House was hastily Adjourn'd. Upon the passing the Act for *Abolishing Prelacy*, almost all the Beneficed Clergy of *Scotland* became unqualify'd to hold their Livings, and there were no *Presbyterian Ministers*

Ministers there legally Establish'd and Provided for but these Sixty, till the *Act* for *Establishing Presbytery* past, and that hung a good while: However, those that had Betray'd their *Country* in the former Reigns, now betray'd their *King* by advising him to Discountenance a *Church*, which all the sober *Scots* were earnest to have settled on the Foundation of Law.

We have seen how the *Jacobite* Faction in *Scotland* was form'd immediately after the Revolution; what Obstructions the Government there met with from them, and their *Abettors*, in *England*; how boldly the Friends to Liberty asserted it in and out of Parliament, and consequently how Vile the Author of the *Memoirs* makes himself appear, by inveighing so scandalously against such an Assembly of Protestants and Patriots.

It was about Two Years after, that *Dundee* met with a Death too Noble for a Traytor, being kill'd in Battel; and tho' Coll. *Buchan* carry'd on the *Rebellion* for a while, yet 'twas rather like a Captain of a Band of *Robbers*, than a Commander of Soldiers; the *Highlanders* hiding in their lurking Holes, when the King's Forces were in the Field; and when in Quarters, they sally'd, and murder'd, plunder'd and destroy'd all in their Way.

One of the Chief of these Rebellious *Banditti*, was *Alexander Macdonald*, Lord of *Glenco*, whom I chuse to speak of, to justify the Glorious Memory of King *William*, which the
Faction

Faction will never fail to bespatter, when mention is made of the Death of that Arch-*Rebel* and *Robber*; I shall therefore give a short and faithful Narrative of the Matter, wherein it will be seen, that His Majesty knew nothing of *Glenco's*, and his Men, being kill'd; nor ever by any Commission warranted such a Slaughter, tho' we shall find it was warranted by Law.

When the Earl of *Braidalbin*, by order of the State, summon'd the Heads of the Highland Clans to submit to the *Government*, in the Year 1691, under Pain of being put to Military Execution, this *Alexander Mackdonald*, commonly called *Glenco*, from the Place he was Laird of, the Laird of *Glengary*, Sir *John Macklean*, and others came in, agreed to a Cessation of Arms, and were promis'd an Indemnity for what was past, if they and their Followers took the Oath to King *William* by the 1st of *January* 1691. At this Meeting the Earl of *Braidalbin* demanded Satisfaction of *Glenco* for Cattle his Men had robb'd the Earl's Men of, and high Words past. *Glenco's* refusing to make any Restitution of this, it is said, added Private Resentment to that Earl's publick Zeal, and 'tis insinuated, as if it instigated those that were in *Commission*, to take hold of the Advantages the *Law* gave them, to root out such a Nest of *Thieves*, and *Cut-Throats*. *Glenco* not having taken the Oath by the Time prefix'd, the Officers who commanded in the *North* had Instructions

structions to put in Execution the former Orders relating to those Obstinate *Rebels*, that should not conform to the King's Terms of Mercy ; of whom some of *Glenco's* Friends were in actual Rebellion, as the Laird of *Glengary*, Chief of a Clan in that Country, who was so far from Submission, that he fortify'd his House, and it was then attack'd by Capt. *Campbell* of *Glenlyon*, with a Detachment of my Lord *Argyle's* Regiment, when the Time expir'd within which the *Rebels* were to take the Oath and be pardon'd. Had not the Government all the Reason in the World to suppress a Rebellion which had been so troublesome and mischievous? And was not *Glengary's* Obstinacy sufficient to Alarm the *Ministry*, at *Glenco's* letting the Time of his Submission elapse, and putting himself out of the Terms of the King's Clemency? 'Tis true, *Glengary's* standing out against the Government was not likely to raise a New Rebellion in the *Highlands* ; on the contrary, he wou'd have been oblig'd to Surrender in a few Days. *Glenco* having let the Time pass, at last ran away to Coll. *Hill*, who Commanded a Fort King *William* built to Bridle the *Highlanders*, and offer'd to take the Oath. But the Time being expir'd, and a Week in *January* gone, that *Commander* had not Power to give him the Oath on the Terms of the King's Proclamation, which pardon'd all that took it in *December*. However, he did give it him, and sent an Account of the Matter to the *Privy-Council* at *Edinburgh*,

Edinburgh, who transmitted it to the King, to know His Majesty's Pleasure therein.

In the mean Time Sir *Thomas Livingston*, *Commander* in Chief of the Forces in *Scotland*, receiv'd Instructions from Court, some of the *Highlanders* being still in Arms, and committing daily Robberies and Murders on His Majesty's Loyal Subjects, To march the Troops against the Rebels, who had not taken the Benefit of the Indemnity, and to suppress them by Fire and Sword; which is the Scots Stile in Commission against Rebels. But those Instructions in the Fourth Article directed, That Terms and Quarter should be given to all Chieftains, Heritors, and Leaders, for Life only, they taking then the Oath of Allegiance; and their Soldiers laying down their Arms, and taking the same Oath, to have Quarter and Indemnity for their Lives and Fortunes, as appears more at large in the Fourth Article of Sir *Thomas Livingston's* Instructions; to whom additional Ones were added a Week after, the 16th of *January*, 1691, ordering Passes to be given, and the Submission of the Rebels there to be taken. These Orders were directed to Sir *Thomas Livingston*, to reduce the Obstinate Rebels, of whom *Glenco's* Men were the worst Thieves and Cut-Throats in all the Highlands; and Sir *Thomas Livingston* having no Notice of *Glenco's* coming in and swearing, tho' out of Time, he dispatched those Orders to *Coll. Hill*, who knowing that *Glenco* had taken the Oaths, forbore to exe-

cute them ; but the Officer that commanded under him, thinking it would be an acceptable Piece of Service, undertook, upon Receipt of the like Orders also, to put them in Execution, not thinking himself oblig'd to have Regard to *Glenco's* tardy Submission, especially he being the most mischievous of the *Highland Popish Banditti* ; accordingly he Quarter'd his Men upon *Glenco's* Clan, of whom 20 or 30 with their Chief were slain, not only on Account of their not having taken the Oaths, as none of them had done, but *Glenco* himself ; but on Suspicion of their holding Intelligence with *Glengary*, whose Clan was even then in actual Rebellion. For *Glenlyon*, when he was at *Glenco*, being ask'd, Why he made ready his Arms ; answer'd, as it was sworn by *Glenco's* Eldest Son, *To march against Glengary's Men*. This is the Truth of the Fact, and whether or no *Glenlyon* was incited to this rash and cruel Act out of Revenge for the Spoil and Butcheries that had been committed by *Glenco* ; Whether he did it out of an officious Zeal to distinguish himself by that Service ; Whether he was animated by some Leading Men of the Country, Enemies to the *Macdonald's* ; It must be said for him, that he acted by the Orders of Sir *Thomas Livingston*, his Commander in Chief who gave them, not knowing *Glenco* had submitted, as himself swore when he was examin'd about them, by the Lords-Commissioners appointed for that Purpose. Thus, to make the Worst of this Business,

'twas

'twas an undesign'd Mistake of Sir Thomas's, and a voluntary one of Glenlyon's; which does not at all reflect on King William's Justice, who never gave, nor intended any such Orders, as will be seen in the Course of this Relation. His Majesty was so concern'd when he heard of it, that he immediately sent his Commands to the Duke of Hamilton, then his High Commissioner, to have the Matter strictly enquir'd into; and his Enemies being very industrious to have his Sacred Character stain'd with this unhappy Incident, he afterwards sent a Commission to

John, Marquis of Tweeddale, Lord High Chancellor.

William, Earl of Annandale.

John, Lord Murray, now Duke of Athol.

Sir James Stuart, Advocate.

Adam Cockburn, of Ormiston, Justice Clerk.

Mr. Archibald Hope, of Rankeiller; Sir William Hamilton, of Whitelaw, Senators in the College of Justice.

Sir James Ogilvy, Sollicitor, now Earl of Seafield; and

Adam Drummond, of Meggins.

to make Enquiry into the Slaughter of Glenco: Which Commission being read in the Scots Parliament the 22d of May, 1695, they resolv'd *Nemine Contradicente,*

That His Majesty's High Commissioner transmit the Humble Thanks of the Parliament to His Majesty, for ordering an Enquiry into that Matter, whereby the Honour and Justice of the Nation ought to be vindicated.

The Commissioners proceeded in the Affair with great Diligence; and tho' some of them were known to bear Ill-will to the *Master of Stairs*, who was then *Scots Secretary*, and for that Reason did very greedily accept of the Evidence of the *Highlanders*, in their own Case, yet in the whole Progress of their Examination they found not one Circumstance which leaves the least Blemish on the Crown. The Chief of their Witnesses were

<i>John Macdonald,</i>	}	<i>Glenco's Sons.</i>
<i>Alexander Macdonald,</i>		
<i>Ronald Macdonald,</i>		<i>of Glenco.</i>
<i>Ronald Macdonald,</i>		<i>of Inerriggen in Glenco.</i>
<i>Archibald Macdonald,</i>		<i>of Glenco.</i>

AND

James Campbel, a Foot-Soldier of *Inverlockie,*

Who doubtless were Hearty Evidence, for what indeed wanted no Proof to gain Credit to the Fact; Ten or Twenty People not being to be kill'd in the Day Time, in several Parts of a Place, and not enough left alive out of Two or Three Hundred to witness to the Truth of it.

Whatever was the Design of the Party in Spiriting up this *Commission*, it had not the Effect intended, but prov'd the clearest Vindication of His Majesty's Conduct in this Affair that cou'd be desir'd: For when the *Commissioners* laid their Report before the Parliament, they Resolv'd *Nemine Contradicente*,

That His Majesty's Instructions of the 11th and 16th Days of January, 1692, touching the Highland Rebels, who did not accept in due Time of the Benefit of His Indemnity, did contain a Warrant for Mercy to all without Exception, who should take The Oath of Allegiance, and come in upon Mercy, tho' the 1st Day of January, 1692, prefixed by a Proclamation of Indemnity was past; and that therefore these Instructions contain'd no Warrant for the Execution of the Glenco Men, made in February thereafter.

Can any Thing be more Impudent, as well as Unjust, than the Calumny the Faction has thrown on His Majesty's Memory, as that he had given Order for that Slaughter? What can be a plainer Testimony of the contrary, than this Vote of the Scots Parliament, which nevertheless did not satisfy that Nation; for in an Address of the Noblemen, Barons and Boroughs, in Parliament, humbly presented to His Most Sacred Majesty, upon the Discovery communicated to them touching the Matter of the Glenco Men;

they tell His Majesty they were desirous of that Commission of Examination, to *Testify to the World, how clear His Majesty's Justice was in all that Matter*; and they do it amply in the following Paragraph of this Address. “ And
 “ now Your Majesty's Commissioner, upon our
 “ repeated Instances, communicated to us a
 “ Copy of the Report transmitted by the Com-
 “ mission to Your Majesty, with Your Majesty's
 “ Instructions, the Master of *Stair's* Letters,
 “ the Orders given by the *Officers*, and the
 “ Depositions of the Witnesses relating to that
 “ Report, and the same being read and com-
 “ par'd, we could not but Unanimously declare,
That Your Majesty's Instructions of the 11th and 16th of January, 1692, touching the Highlanders, who had not accepted in due Time of the Benefit of the Indemnity, did contain a Warrant for Mercy to all without Exception, who should offer to take The Oath of Allegiance, and come in upon Mercy, tho' the 1st of January, 1692, prefixed by the Proclamation of Indemnity, was past; and that these Instructions contain no Warrant for the Execution of the Glenco-Men made in February thereafter. And here we cannot but acknowledge Your Majesty's signal Clemency upon this Occasion, as well as in the whole Tract of Your Government over us; for had Your Majesty without new Offers of Mercy, given positive Orders for executing the Law upon the Highlanders, that had already despis'd Your repeated Indemnities, they had but met with what they justly deserv'd.

And

And lest it may still be objected, that *Glenlyon* durst not do what he did without positive Orders, and that those positive Orders were sent by *Sir Thomas Levingston*; They excuse that Officer in this Address :

In the next Place we examin'd the Orders given by Sir Thomas Levingston in this Matter, and were unanimously of Opinion, That he had Reason to give such Orders for the cutting off the Glenco-Men, upon the supposition that they had rejected the Indemnity, and without making them new Offers of Mercy, being a Thing in it self lawful; but it appearing that Sir Thomas was then Ignorant of the peculiar Circumstances of the Glenco-Men, he might very well understand Your Majesty's Instructions in the restricted Sense.

After all this, can the Reader have Patience with those wicked and malicious *Jacobites* and *Tories*, who pretend to be extreamly concern'd at the Slaughter of those *Highland Innocents*, on purpose to blacken King *William's* Memory? They are not at all troubled for the Massacre of 200000 Protestants in *Ireland*, by virtue of Instructions, prov'd after another Sort of Manner than were *Sir Thomas Levingston's*, and will not bear to hear it; but *Glenco's* Murder is a Cruelty not to be parallel'd, if you'll hearken to them, in the *Irish Rebellion*, or *Jesfery's Western Assizes*.

This Matter was not over before another was set a-Foot in *Scotland* to embroil the Two Nations; and that was the Erecting a *West-India* and *African Company*; which the *Scots* not being able to do of themselves, courted the Assistance of the *Hollanders* and *Hamburghers* to carry on their Project. And the *English* Merchants not being willing to give up the Advantages of that Trade to *Foreigners*, oppos'd this Scheme, as they had all the good Reason in the World to do; for most of their *Exports* of *West-India* Goods to *Holland* and to *Germany*, by *Hamburgh*, would cease, if the *Dutch* and *Hamburghers* got the Trade into their Hands, under Pretence of a *Scots* Trade and Settlement. The best Markets the *English West-India* Merchants have, would have been lost, with little or no Advantage to the *Scots*, who had not Money to go through with such an Undertaking; and would soon have found the *Hollanders* and *Hamborough* Men too hard for them, as all Men that bear the Purse, are for those that have to deal with 'em. The *Faction* did their Utmost to blow this Business of *Darien* into a Flame. And the Reasons the *English* offer'd; the Necessity the *Court* of *England* lay under to keep fair with *Spain*, from whence they had receiv'd very strong Memorials against the *Scots*; the Representations of the Chimericalness of the Design; nothing had any Weight with it in the Opinion and Discourse of the *Faction*; 'twas a flagrant Inroachment on the *Independancy* of the *Scots* to obstruct their Settlement; and

and the Malecontents push'd their Resentment so far as to talk of Renewing the Old Scots League with France, which was all the *Jacobites* wanted. In one of their Books written on the Occasion of the *Darien* Colony, they threaten what they will do if they are not suffer'd to go on as they list with their Settlement. *Our Neighbours*, says the Author, *must needs think we should look for a Compensation somewhere, resume the Government into our own Hands, and strengthen our selves by New Alliances, which perhaps might be little to their Advantage.* In another Place the Writer bemoans their losing their Old League with France: *The Loss of our ancient Alliance, says he, with that famous and great Kingdom, and of the Honourable and Advantagious Privileges we enjoy'd there, is one of the greatest Damages we sustain'd by the Union of the Crowns. Neither our Princes nor our Neighbours have thought fit to allow us any Compensation hitherto, but have rather pleas'd themselves to see our Honours and Privileges there gradually wrested out of our Hands.* And in another Place he threatens us, that if we threw them off by obstructing them in their Settlement at *Darien*, they knew who would be glad to take them.

I do not mention this as the Sentiments of the Scots Nation; I have already prov'd that the best and greatest Part of them have been steady Asserters of *Liberty*, and as Zealous for the Preservation of the Protestant Religion as any Men of *Great Britain*; but to shew, that tho' some
honest

honest well-meaning Men did give into this *American* Project, and were disgusted at the Miscarriage of it; yet in the main the Disgust that arose from it was occasion'd by the Clamour of the *Jacobites*, who fain would have blown the Matter up into a Flame, to make a Diversion by our Divisions at *Home*, in favour of the *French* Arms *Abroad*. And this will appear more plainly, when we consider the Reasons the *English* had to oppose that *Settlement*; How impracticable it was in itself; the Necessity the Court was under to discountenance it, and the Persons that prosecuted it with the greatest Warmth.

I have in the beginning of this Part of my Treatise hinted at some of the *Reasons* the *English* had to oppose the *Scots* Settlement at *Darien*, that it would deprive their *West-India* Merchants of the *Dutch* and *German* Markets for their *Plantation* Goods, and take the *Trade* out of their Hands to put it into those of the *Dutch* and *Hamburgers*, which must necessarily have been the Consequence of their *American* Trade, carry'd on by *Dutch* and *German* Money. For the *Traders*, by virtue of the *Scots* Act, had great Immunities above the *English*, and a Freedom from Customs for many Years; By those means let them have rais'd Commodities of the Product of their New *Plantation*, or bought them of the *French* or *Dutch*, they would have been empower'd to *Import* them, or *Export* them at Pleasure, free from those Duties with
which

which the *Plantation-Trade* in *England* is overburthen'd ; And the *Scots* Company was so sensible of it, that their Advocates did not pretend to consider these Objections. On the contrary, the Advantages they propos'd to the Merchants at *Amsterdam* and *Hamburg*, whom they invited to subscribe 200000 *l.* towards carrying on their *American* Trade, and perfecting their Settlement, arose chiefly from the Difference of the Markets in *England* and *Scotland* ; the former being 20 *per Cent.* dearer for *Plantation-Goods* than the latter would have been, had their Design of a *Darien* Colony been feasible ; which I have in some Measure shew'd it was not.

To that I shall now add what an Author once very much in the good Graces of the *Scots* writes on that Subject ; not because what such a mean Illiterate Creature can say, bears any Authority with it ; but because they having been fond of him, perhaps may be of another Mind, and prefer his Judgment to mine, especially those who embark'd in this Business, purely to promote the *Jacobite* Interest, which this Man has espous'd ever since the Change of the Old Ministry ; I mean *Daniel Foe*, who writing of the *Darien* Settlement, has these Expressions.

“ Whatever Prospect the Projectors of the *Scots*
 “ *West-India* and *African* Company had in their
 “ View ; some of which will, I doubt, hardly
 “ bear a History, He means the *Grand Jacobite*
 “ Design to inflame the Two Nations ; I never
 “ heard one of them pretend, That either the
 “ Stock

“ Stock to carry it on, or the Market for their
 “ Trade, could be found in *Scotland*. And from
 “ hence with other particular Objections, which
 “ I believe they never debated, I pretend to say
 “ they could never really propose any Rational
 “ Probability of Success. The Scheme of the
 “ *Darien* Trade had not one Branch belonging
 “ to its Contrivance, but what was big with
 “ necessary Abortions, such as remote Mines of
 “ Gold, to be gain’d and maintain’d by Force
 “ against the *Spaniards*; in which *England*
 “ could not without Breach of Faith assist: Such
 “ as a Trade for *European* Goods with the
 “ *Spanish* Colonies, which must always have
 “ been by Force, or by Stealth, and neither of
 “ these had any rational Probability. As to
 “ their Trade over Land to the *South-Seas*, and
 “ thence to the *Indies*, tho’ much boasted of, it
 “ answers for it self, and seems a too impracti-
 “ cable Whimfy to merit any Reply; much like
 “ the other Dream of making a Navigation, or
 “ Communication, between the *South-Seas* and
 “ the Gulph of *Mexico*, by the River of *Da-*
 “ *rien* _____, which if all were done, and
 “ the Distance measur’d to that Part of *India*
 “ to which we chiefly Trade, *viz.* the Coast of
 “ *Coromandel*, *Surat*, Bay of *Bengal*, &c. I
 “ think any Body will determine the Voyage
 “ by the *Cap de Bon Esperance*, the better Pas-
 “ sage by much, and very little, if any Thing
 “ longer”. After he had thus explain’d what
 he had been told of the Chimericalness of the
 Project,

Project, he concludes with blaming the *Scots* Company for attempting to *Plant themselves in a Climate unfit for Product it self, with neither Cash nor Credit to buy in other Places.* Tho' he has not Capacity nor Experience enough to say these Things of himself, yet what Truth there is in them has its Weight; and as I do not urge this Argument with any Design to reflect on the *Scots* Nation in general, whose Zeal for Liberty and Religion I highly honour; so I hope all true *Scots Britains* will take me right, and that I do it only to charge the *Jacobite* Faction with the Michiefs intended by this *Whimsical* Project.

I shall not insist on the Justice of the *English* in maintaining the first Principle of Nature, *Self-Preservation*; because my Intention is not to charge the *Scots* with Injustice in this Attempt; but to prove that it was not push'd on with so much Zeal to serve the *Scotish* Interest, but to promote the *Jacobite*; and that will be obvious, when, besides the above-mention'd Reason the *English* had to oppose it, we shew how impracticable it was in it self.

The *Scots* do not pretend that they could carry it on with their own Money; and how long the *Amsterdammers* and *Hamburgers* would have lik'd to have been Partners with them, when the Returns were to come through their Hands; or how much the *Scots* would have been the better for the Trade, if their Accounts were to be made up by *Hamburgers* and *Amsterdammers*,

sterdammers, one may easily imagine. The *Scots* knew very well, before they undertook the Settlement at *Darien*, that for the Reasons above-mention'd, the *English* did and would oppose it. Upon Passing of the Act in *Scotland* for Establishing a *West-India* and *African* Company, the House of Commons made an Address to his Majesty, representing the great Damage it wou'd be to the *English* Plantation Trade if the *Scots* introduc'd Foreigners into it, or supply'd them with *American* Goods at Under-Rates. The House of Lords did the same. However, the *Scots* went on with their Project, and wou'd not be put off of it by any *Representations* or *Memorials* against it; whether it was on Account of the Detriment 'twou'd be to the *English* Trade, or on Account of the little likelihood there was of their succeeding. For after the Parliament of *England* had address'd the King to protect their Plantation-Trade against this new-intended Invasion of it, the *English* wou'd not subscribe to the *Scots* Project; The *Amsterdammers* were deterr'd by the Interposition of the *Dutch West-India Company*, who were as jealous of the *Scots* and *Hamburgers* on this Occasion as the *English* were of all of them; and the *Spaniards* put in an angry Memorial against that Settlement, as a Breach of the Treaties between *Spain* and *England*; which brings me to consider the Necessity the Court of *England* was under to discountenance it.

The Faction in *Scotland* having obstinately persisted in their Resolution to attempt the settling a Colony at *Darien*, in opposition to the Addresses of the *English* Parliament, to the *English* Interest, to the Representation of the *Dutch West-India* Company, to the *States-General*, to the Treaties between *England* and *Spain*, to a Thousand Difficulties they met with ; the House of Lords address'd his Majesty again ; and the *Spanish* Ambassador declar'd his Master wou'd look upon it as a Breach of the Treaties between the Two Crowns ; this too at a Juncture when the *French* were in their deepest Intrigues, to engage the *Spanish* King to leave his Dominions to the House of *Bourbon*, which all *Europe* was concern'd to prevent. King *William* was certainly as much oblig'd to take care of the Interests of the *English* Commerce as to protect the *Scots* in this Chimerical Undertaking, and to maintain the Balance of Power in *Europe* ; which cou'd not have been preserv'd, even then, had we broken with *Spain* in favour of Mr. *Paterfon* and his *Darien* Colony. This was surely of more consequence than the supplying them with Beef and Pork from *New-England* ; or suffering them to ruin and starve themselves in the Wilderness of *Darien*, purely to please a disaffected Faction, who took hold of this Opportunity to get Strength, and raise a Clamour against K. *William*, who cou'd not satisfy both Kingdoms. And *England* must have been made uneasy, and *Spain* angry, not to say worse, purely

purely because the *Jacobites* in *Scotland* insisted on the settling a *Darien* Colony at the Expence of the Safety of both Kingdoms; which they were not at all concern'd for, if *France* had thereby the Means to force King *James* upon us during our Divisions and Difficulties.

The House of Lords in their Second Address, make a just, fair and friendly Representation of the Case to his Majesty in this Paragraph.

We are truly sensible of great Losses our Neighbour Kingdom hath sustained both by Men and Treasure in their Expeditions to Darien; which as we very heartily lament, so we should not endeavour by any Interposition of Ours to defeat the Hopes they may still entertain of recovering those Losses by their further engaging in that Design; but that we judge such a Prosecution on their Parts, must end not only in far greater Disappointment to themselves, but at the same Time prove very inconvenient to the Trade and Quiet of this Kingdom.

Which was the Truth of the Fact; for notwithstanding the first Colony they sent thither were half of 'em Starv'd, and the rest either Dead, or Prisoners in the *Spanish West-Indies*; some few excepted, that made a shift to get back to their own Country; yet were the Faction so bent upon the prosecuting this Scheme, not to lose the Advantage they had got by it of making the Court daily more Enemies; that they left no Stone unturn'd to procure a Second Attempt to be made, and a Second Colony to be sent to Destruction.

struction. Upon which, in the last Place, I shall enquire a little into the Character of the Persons that were most Zealous in this Troublesome Unreasonable Business, and we shall find the Chief of 'em to be *Jacobites*; Inſomuch that the *Kirk of Scotland*, which was then as Loyal as they are now, exclaim'd againſt it as much as the *Parliament of England*; as is own'd by another, who was hir'd to write a *Defence of this Settlement*. He ſays, he do's not wonder at their Oppoling it, *when they are perſwaded that the greateſt Zealots for our American Settlements are their mortal Enemies*. And a Lord of that Perſwaſion who correſponded with them, and did them all the good Offices he could, Aſſerted, as the ſame Author acknowledges, in the Houſe of Peers, that it was a *Jacobite Deſign* to embroil the Two Nations, and pave the Way for a *Second Reſtoration*. This was the Opinion of the *Engliſh Court and Kingdom*, and of the *Preſbyterians in Scotland*, who, no doubt, underſtood the Interests of their *Country* as well as the Duke of *Hamilton*, and the other *Jacobites* who ſtickled ſo ſtrenuouſly to the laſt for the Eſta bliſhing an *American Trade and Settlement*. The Author of the *Scots Memoirs* ſpeaking of that Duke's great Loyalty to King *James*, lets us into this Secret: for he writes thus in his Character of him; *He was ready to have commanded to the North of England (for King James) had not my Lord Dundee's Death, and ſome other fatal Accidents prevented the Deſign.*

He

He then tells us, how he was Imprison'd and Harrass'd on Account of his Loyalty to his Old Master, and that he never took the Oaths till the Year 1696. He must then take the Test of *Assurance*, and renounce *K. James* to qualify him to sit in Parliament. *The Oppression*, continues he, *which his Native Country receiv'd from England, particularly in their Affair of the Colony of Darien, call'd him to attend the Parliament. In which, with great Dexterity he fram'd a Party very considerable for Numbers and Power, that stood firm to the Interest of the Country.* It must be observ'd, that the *Memoir-Writer* confounds very often the *Cavalier and Country-Party*; for the *Jacobites* in *Scotland*, as well as *England* assum'd the latter Denomination. When they talk'd of the *Interest of their Country*, they meant nothing in the World but *King James's*: And thus we see *Duke Hamilton*, who had liv'd retired ever since the *Revolution*, now 8 Years after comes to Parliament, swears to be true to *King William*, and forms a Faction against him considerable for Number and Power. *The Colony of Darien, and the Interest of the Country were the Pretence.* But the Author of the *Memoirs* a few Lines lower tells us as plainly as we cou'd wish, that *his Love to King James (his Country) induc'd him to oppose King William*; his Love to his Country had made him leave *London* and follow *King James*, who had almost ruin'd and enslav'd it. His Love to his Country had engag'd him in several Plots to restore that Prince,

and

and with him *Tyranny* and *Idolatry*, *Poverty* and *Slavery*; and now the same Love to that dear Country of his, brings him out of his Retirement, when he found that People were prepar'd by a groundless Cry of Oppression, to acknowledge him the Head of a Party against King *William's* Government.

After the Colony at *Darien* was dispers'd, and one of the Chief of 'em, Captain *Pincarton*, with his Ships-Crew, was cast away under the Walls of *Carthagenà*, the Inhabitants of which City took him and his Company Prisoners; Who did the *Scots* send to *London* to desire his Majesty to interpose for their Deliverance, but the Duke of *Hamilton's* Brother, the Lord *Basil Hamilton*, a main Man in the Prosecution of the *Darien* Expedition? Whose Message was the less acceptable on account of the *Messenger*, a Person that had been formerly at *London*, but never waited on his Majesty; nor as we have it in the before-cited *Scots* Author, had ever given any Publick Evidence of his Loyalty, nor acknowledg'd his Majesty's Government.

If we enquire into the Characters of the Persons employ'd in this *Darien* Expedition, we shall, amongst them, find *William Paterfon*, who out of Love too to his Country got to be a Creature of the late *Ministers*; and how they intended to serve it, we shall see by their Champion the D. of *Hamilton's* Engagements to assist the Pretender in his intended Invasion.

As my Design in treating of this Subject was not to enlarge upon the Argument between the *English*, and *Scots*, about the Settlement on the *Isthmus* of *Darien*, as it respects the Trade of each Nation: So I shall forbear saying any thing further on this Head; only to take notice, that notwithstanding all the Complaints of Grievances made by the Faction for the Proceedings of the Court of *England* in this Matter, they were so far from being contrary to the Interests of the *Scots* Nation, that their own Ministers attending on the King, as the Lord *S_____d* in particular, one of our late Managers 16 Peers, were constantly acquainted with the Measures intended to be taken with reference to that Business, and nothing was done without their Privacy and Consent, as Mr. Secretary *Vernon* assur'd the *Scots* Agents when they apply'd to him about it. By all which it will be as clear to every impartial Reader as a Thing can be, that the principal End of the *Faction* in promoting the Project of the *Darien* Settlement, was to create a difference between the Two Nations, and Discontents with the King; which had their Design succeeded must have terminated to their Advantage. When therefore they mention the Affair of *Darien*, we must look upon it as an Invidious and Impious Reflection on the Memory of that King, whose Government their *Malice* would now blacken, as their *Treason* would then have destroy'd.

I shall have done with this Affair when I have repeated a few Lines of the *Memoir* Writer upon it: That the Eyes of the People were open'd by it. That there was a vigorous Appearance against the Court: That the Courtiers defended the King and the Cavaliers, who then began to be called the Country-Party, attack'd his Measures and prevail'd; and that this Business was so far improv'd, as to give them an Opportunity Forty Years after, 1700, to hang the Court.

I think there is no need of further explaining the Design of the *Jacobites* in this Business, which was so evidently trump'd up by Duke *Hamilton* and his *Cavaliers* to promote the *Jacobite* Interest.

These Men pretended a more than ordinary Concern for the Trade of *Scotland*, which blinded the Eyes of the Multitude, and they were look'd upon as so many *Patriots*. The *Jacobites* in *North-Britain* imitated their Brethren in *England* in their Endeavours to grow Popular; and by all the Misrepresentations and Insinuations they could think of against the Government, to alienate the Affections of the People, and distress it as much as possible. Nothing was heard of in *Scotland* but the Oppressions of the *English*; and the *Tories* in *England* knowing what the *Scots Cavaliers* drove at, resolv'd to assist them on their side, and increase the Animosities between the two Kingdoms. They therefore put *Dr. Drake*, Author of the *High*

Church Memorial, upon Publishing an Antiquated *Scotch History*, on purpose to vilify the whole Nation in the *Preface*, and create more Ill Blood. This had the desir'd Effect. The *Scots* Parliament highly resent'd the Affront, and order'd it to be burnt by the common Hangman at *Edinburgh*. The Rabble alarm'd at this Attempt of *Drake's*, were more and more enrag'd against the *English*; and the Duke of *Hamilton* with his *Cavaliers* omitted nothing that they thought would spread the Flame. The Heats on both sides grew to a heighth which threaten'd a Rupture; and the *Cavaliers* sallying out of their lurking Holes, took the Oaths to qualify themselves for betraying the Government, to which they swore Fidelity.

Things stood thus when King *William* dy'd; and upon *Q. Anne's* Accession to the Throne, the *Cavaliers*, as the *Memoir-Writer* expresses himself, *expected mighty Things*; for he adds, *They knew the Queen was a strenuous Assertor of the Doctrines of the Church of England. They saw the Church-Party was preferr'd to Places and Favour in England.*

The Language of the *Scotch* and *English Jacobite Faction* agrees as well as their Principles. To be for *Liberty*, the *Protestant Religion*, for the *Revolution* and *Protestant-Succession*, is to be against the *Church*. To be for the *Constitution*, *Moderation*, and the *Acts of Settlement*, is *Antimonarchical*. For he says, The Earl of *Marchmont*, Lord *Chancellor*, the Earl of *Mel-*
vil,

vil, President of the Council, the Duke of *Queensbury*, Lord *Privy-Seal*, the Earl of *Seafield*, who attended in the late Times as Secretary, the Earl of *Selkirk*, Register, the Laird of *Ormistown*, Treasurer-Depute, Sir *John Maxwell* of *Polock*, Justice Clerk, Sir *James Stuart*, Advocate, &c. were all of undoubted *Antimonarchical Principles*. The Characters of these Lords are so well known, that it must necessarily acquaint us with the *Memoir-Writer*, who by this shews he has no more regard to Truth than he has to the Honour and Interest of his Country. These were all remov'd, and Men it seems of other *Principles* put in their Places. What these Principles must be which were against the *Revolution* and the *Protestant-Succession*, I need not explain; 'tis sufficient that he names the Men who were advanc'd in *Scotland* at the same time that Sir *Edward Seymour*, Mr. *Simon Harcourt*, and others got into Places in *England*. He says the V——t of T——t was made Secretary of State; the Marquess of A——e, President of the Council; the D. of A——e, Lord Privy-Seal; L. B——re Treasurer Depute; the E. of M——b, Governor of *Edinburgh* Castle; and he extols him for having opposed the *Revolutioners* ever since the Abdication. Men of this Stamp were not like to heal the Breaches that were become very wide between the Two Nations: The *English* knew the Faction hinder'd the *Scots* from settling the Succession of the Crown on the House

of *Hanover*, purely to bring in the *Pretender* by that Door on a Demise; and they were very uneasy to let that Important Matter remain undetermin'd. The *Faction* represented to the *Scots*, that they were mad if they did not oblige the *English* to treat with them on their own Terms, if they gratify'd em in that Point, the only One of Importance which the *English* had to desire of them. And the Conditions propos'd were always such with respect to Commerce, that the Cavaliers were sure the *English* would not comply with. This was exaggerated as a Design of theirs to ruin the *Scots* Trade, to impoverish and enslave them. The Cry was popular, and its Success accordingly very remarkable among the Multitude, whom the Lords of the Faction caref'd in an extraordinary Manner; and Trade was doing this Business in *Scotland*, as *Church* was doing it in *England*, in the Time of the late Managers.

An Incident had happen'd, which had put the Two Kingdoms on worse Terms with one another than they had been upon ever since the Revolution, and that was the Affair of the *Worcester* Frigate, Capt. *Green* Commander; who being bound home from the *East-Indies* to *London*, and putting into *Scotland*, was there seiz'd for Piracy, and the Captain and a great Part of his Crew imprison'd as Pyrates. The Story is briefly thus: The *East-India-Company* at *London*, had formerly seiz'd a Ship belonging to the *Scots African-Company*, as she was sitting out in the River of *Thames*.

Thames. They had in vain solicited Restitution, so they apply'd themselves to the Government for a Power to seize and stop this Ship, the *Worcester*, by Way of Reprisal; which having obtain'd, they sent a sufficient Number of Men, who made a Seizure of the Ship, and brought her into *Burnt-Island*, where she lay some time; during which, some of the Ship's Crew, whether in Drink, or otherwise, let fall some Words implying, that they had been Pyrating, and particularly some very suspicious Discourses as if there had been Blood in the Case.

Had not the Feuds between the Two Kingdoms been so near kindling to a Flame, the *Scots* would not have troubled themselves either with *Green's* Piracy or Murder, but have taken his Money, and let him have manag'd his Matter as well as he could at Home; but they were so fowr'd by their Losses, and so full of Resentment against the *English* for the Obstructions they had given to their Settlement, that they were prepar'd to take hold of any Opportunity to retaliate the Ill-Usage they thought they had met with. The Populace were made to believe, that *Darien* was full of Mountains of Gold, and that if the Settlement had been made, Gold would have been as Plenty as Eggs in *Scotland*. This begat in 'em a Disposition to be as mischievous as they could to the *English*, and *Green* was the first of that Nation who fell into their Hands. Here I must again observe, That all this was entirely owing to the *Cavalier* Faction, who

who had improv'd the Quarrel so far to the Advantage of the Pretender, that the Multitude in *Scotland* seem'd inclin'd to unite with any Nation rather than the *English*. The Ministry continu'd firm to the True *British* Interest, with most of the Principal Protestant Nobility and Gentry; but the more ordinary and Ignorant Sort of People thinking themselves highly injur'd, were impatient to be Reveng'd, and the *Worcester* Frigate, and her Crew, are like to pay for it.

The idle Discourse of the Sailors having been told to those that lay in Wait for a fair Occasion to let the *English* see how sensible they were of their pretended Injuries; Capt. *Green*, and some of his Crew, were examin'd soon after; Informations were procur'd against him, that he had seiz'd a *Scot's* Ship in the *East-Indies*, murder'd Capt. *Drummond* who commanded it, with all his Crew, and made Prize of both Ship and Cargo; for which he, and Five more were try'd, found Guilty of *Piracy*, *Robbery*, and *Murder*, and condemn'd to Die. The Witnesses against them were Two Blacks, one *Haines*, and Another, whom the Captain had disgust'd. The Evidence of the two latter were not positive, but that of the Negroes was as strong as was necessary to convict them. The Ships Crew were doubtless Rogues enough; and great Crimes, tho' not Capital, were prov'd upon them by the other Witnesses; but the *Scots* Company satisfy'd themselves with the Evidence
of

of the Two Blacks, and after a long Tryal the Captain and the Five Men were convicted. Nor did the People of *Scotland*, in general, question their being Guilty, care being taken to have every Circumstance of the Witnesses Information exaggerated, which had the desir'd Effect to set the whole Nation against them, and make 'em demand to have them executed. The Privy Council of *Scotland* acted with more Prudence, they repriev'd the condemn'd Men for some Days, and the more moderate of the *Scots* began to question the Justice of the Cause. They objected against the Evidence of the Negroes, who could not be made sensible of the Sanction of an Oath, and many of the better Sort of People seem'd inclinable to have the Prisoners pardon'd; which the Rabble suspecting, they rose in a Rebellious manner, on the Day appointed for their Execution; and hearing the Privy-Council had sent for the Magistrates of *Edinburgh* to consult about the Matter, a vast Concourse of People gather'd, in an Instant, in the *Parliament-Close*, at the *Cross*, at the Prison, and throughout the whole City, threatening the Magistrates, and even the Council, what they would do in Case the *Englishmen* were not brought out that Day: Some cry'd, pull down the *Talbooth*, which if they had done, *Green*, and his Five Men, had doubtless been torn into a Thousand Pieces. Things being thus, the Council and Magistrates order'd, that Capt. *Thomas Green*, and two of his Men, *John Matber*, and *James Sympson*, should

should be put to Death that Day; the Magistrates told the People of it as they returned from the Council, and they were satisfy'd for the Present. Soon after the Lord Chancellor coming by in his Coach, one of the Rabble said aloud, *The Magistrates had cheated them, and that the Council had repriev'd the Prisoners.* Upon this they all took Fire in a Moment, ran after the Chancellor's Coach, stopt it, broke his Glasses, abus'd his Servants, and forc'd him out of the Coach. Some of his Friends seeing what Hazard his Life was in, got him into a House, and prevented any Hurt to his Person. This, and the continual Clamour of the Mob, had such an Influence, that *Capt. Green, Mather, and Sympson*, were brought out, led thro' the Streets to *Leith*, and there executed. The Rage of the Rabble being asswag'd with their Blood, their Revenge too late was turn'd into Pity, and it is said, they were ready to fall upon one another to punish themselves for what they had done; and in Truth they had Reason, for several Affidavits were made in *England*, that *Drummond* was still living, and that neither he, nor any of his Men were ever touch'd by *Green*, or his Crew: One can hardly express the Indignation of the *English*, when they heard that the Men were executed; nor were there wanting Incendiaries who reported, That *Green, Mather, and Sympson*, were barbarously insulted by the Mob at the Place of Execution, that they call'd 'em *English-Dogs*, and represented,

that

that 'twas their *Country*, and not their *Crime*, which hang'd them.

It was observ'd, That the *Jacobites* and *Tories* were the most busy of all the People of *Scotland* on this Occasion; their Cry was loudest, their Zeal the most flaming; and at the same Time, that they affected such an extream Concern for the Welfare of the Nation, did they do what they could to embroil it with *England*, that while they were thus divided, the Pretender might come in, and both Kingdoms be enslav'd and ruin'd for ever. Tho' nothing was more visible than the Part the Cavaliers play'd in this Business; yet so blind were the Generality, even of the *Scots* Protestants at that Juncture, as not to see what the Faction drove at, but to take 'em for the Persons they pretended to be, *Publick-Spirited*, and *Lovers* of their *Country*. Nothing therefore would content Them but an *Act of Security*, to arm themselves, and prepare for an Offensive or Defensive War with their good Friends and Neighbours, as the Occasion requir'd. But because the *Scots* Parliament was not yet under the Influence of the Cavalier Party; the Heads of them oppos'd the Continuance of it after the Death of King *William*. Duke *Hamilton* made a Speech against it, and with others that adher'd to him, enter'd a Protestation, for which, when they march'd in a Body from the *Parliament-House* to a *Tavern* near the *Cross*, they were, says the *Writer of the Memoirs*, *Huzzza'd* by the
Acclamations

Acclamations of an infinite Number of People. For the Cavaliers in *Scotland*, as the Tories lately in *England*, began their Work by getting the Rabble on their Side, who are sure to make up with Noise what they want in Number; for this infinite Multitude was far from being the *Majority* of the *Scots Protestants*. The Dean and Faculty of the Advocates made a Vote in favour of this Protestation, as they did some Years after in favour of the *Pretender*; when they voted his *Medal* a Place in their *Treasury*: The Parliament severely reprimanded them for meddling with Matters that did not belong to 'em; and my Author highly resents, that such Lovers of *Liberty* and *Right*, were attack'd in that manner; tho' as for *Right*, they are in Love with none but the *Hereditary*, which the Impostor pretends to; and for *Liberty*, they never shew'd any Concern for it, but when they could make use of it for its Destruction. Why Duke *Hamilton*, and his Cavaliers were for dissolving this Parliament, one may see by what the *Memoir-Writer* says in the next Page: The Earl of *Marchmont* propos'd an *Abjuration Oath*, and as he says, in *horrid scandalous Terms*; and the Faction were not sure that this Parliament, how angry soever they were with the *English*, would reject a Test so absolutely necessary to prevent any Trouble from a *Popish Pretender*: However, they need not have been so afraid of its passing; the Commissioner had no Instructions about it, and

so he would not come into it, lest the Queen, and Her Ministers, should not have approv'd of it. I was surpriz'd to see our Author discover the Sentiments of the Scots, with reference to the Disposition of Her Majesty and Ministry; for he says, one main Reason, that the Oath of Abjuration did not pass, was, because several leading Members foresaw, *they might expect little Thanks if She should afterwards favour the Interest of the Distressed Royal Family*: He adds, he believes that the Queen and Her Ministers were not then inclin'd to have the Protestant Succession settled in Scotland, p. 17. which one would be apt to think, for that this Parliament was dissolv'd not long after the Earl of Marchmont's Proposal, and a new one chosen; wherein, tho' several Cavaliers got to sit, yet the Major Vote was still *Protestant*. The *Memoir-Writer* divides that Assembly into three Parties, and we shall by that see very plainly, that his *Cavaliers* are *Jacobites*; for there are his *Court-Party*, and his *Country-Party*, and his *Mitchel's Club*, or *Cavaliers*; such another as our *Vine* and *October Clubs*. All these, *says he*, had *their distinct Meetings, Consultations, and Projects*. What I pray must the Cavaliers Projects be, when they had the Earl of H——e for their Head, who had been a notorious *Jacobite* ever since the Revolution? But tho' he could not get into Parliament without taking the Oath, and renouncing any other Title but the Queen's, yet it seems he took them only to car-

ry on Projects to dethrone Her, as were all Projects that favour'd the Pretender.

This Parliament met the 3d of *May*, 1703. The Duke of *Queensbury*, Son of him before-mention'd was Lord High Commissioner; and the first Matter of Moment brought into the House was an Act of Recognition, which pass'd, but not without Opposition from Duke *Hamilton* and *Mitchel's* Club. The Writer of the *Memoirs* speaking of the Compliance of that Club in this Point at the Close of the Debate, acknowledges, that *the Duke of Hamilton* blam'd them for it ever since; but he excuses them, considering that this was the particular Piece of Service the Queen demanded of them in recompence of the great things she promis'd to do for them. What great Things could be done for the *Jacobites* without endangering the *Protestant Succession*? The *Act of Security*, which has made so much noise, was pass'd during the Prevalency of the *Tory-Faction* in *England* and *Scotland*, I mean the Second Year of *Queen Anne's* Reign, before the Friends to *France* had lost their Credit in the *French* Court by not being able to hinder the Duke of *Marlborough's* taking their Towns and Provinces as he had already done, and the Battel of *Bleinheim* not yet felt. The *Tory-Faction* sunk in their Interest as the *Protestant-Party* rose in theirs, by their Zeal and Success in the Cause of Liberty. It therefore behov'd the *Jacobites* to hasten the Execution of all their Designs against the Constitution; and they

they had Hopes of none so much as the passing the *Security-Act* in *Scotland*, which was look'd upon in *England* as a Sort of Declaration of War, and was carry'd on in *Scotland* chiefly by the most profess'd Enemies to the Revolution; as the

Duke of <i>Hamilton</i> .		Viscount <i>Stormont</i> .
Earl <i>Marshal</i> .		Lord <i>Blantyr</i> .
Earl of <i>Hume</i> .		<i>Lochart</i> of <i>Carnwarth</i> ,
Earl of <i>Strathmore</i> .		&c.

The greatest Wonder in all this Matter is, that Mr. *Fletcher* of *Saltoune*, a Man of excellent Learning and Parts, a zealous Asserter of *Liberty* and even of *Republican* Principles, shou'd give into the Design of the *Scots Jacobites* so far, as to imagine there was a Man of them all that lov'd *Scotland* better than *France*, or that really did intend the Good of their Country more than the Interests of the Pretender; or that such as were in his Interests cou'd be for the Good of their Country.

As the *Jacobites* in *Scotland* did then set up for Patriots by opposing the *English*, so did the *Tories* in *England* exert themselves in the same Cause by exasperating the *Scots*. The same House of Commons that distinguish'd themselves by the *Tack*, pass'd an *Act* to prevent the *Mischiefs arising to England from the Act of Security in Scotland*. In which they did little less than declare Open War with the *Scots*, unless

by the 24th of *December* the next Year they should settle the Crown as it was settled in *England*. So far was this Quarrel carry'd, that a Squadron of Men of War was order'd to cruise on the Coasts of *Scotland* to prevent their Trade with *France*; and the *Scots* in *England* were declar'd Aliens.

Nothing can be plainer, than that those who fomented this Difference, were at the Bottom fast Friends to the Chevalier *de St. George*. And yet while the *Act of Security* was depending in *Scotland*, nothing was heard from them but *Liberty! Liberty!* which was push'd so far, that a certain Peer declar'd, *They would demand the Act with their Swords in their Hands*. Not many Days after, the Earl of *Marchmont* presented an *Act for settling the Succession on the House of Hanover*; which the *Faction* treated with such Contempt as the *Memoir-Writer* expresses himself, that some propos'd it might be burnt, perhaps one of the Four that was sent by them to engage the Duke of *Queensbury* on their side, as the Earl of *Hume*, the Earl of *Strathmore*, *George Lockhart* of *Carnwarth*, and *James Ogilvie* of *Boyne*, P. 46. Others mov'd that my Lord *Marchmont* might be sent to the Castle, but the *Act* was thrown out by a Majority of 57 Voices. Yet the Protestants of those that call'd themselves the *Country Party*, were so blinded by their Resentment against the *English*, that they did not see the Precipice to which the *Cavaliers* were hurrying them. In this Session

of Parliament *A. D.* 1703, the same Noble Lord brought in the *Act for the Security of the Presbyterian Government*; which was oppos'd by Sir *David Cunningham* and others, but it was carry'd in the Affirmative:

Yeas, 128.

Non Liguets, 82.

Noes, 30.

We see by this, tho' the *Jacobites* had sacrific'd their Consciences to take the Oaths, and qualify themselves to sit in Parliament; tho' they had muster'd up all their Strength, and were all of them *Episcopalians*, *Presbytery* was still the Sense of the Nation. And yet the Author of the *Memoirs* affirms boldly, that *if the Queen wou'd have introduc'd Episcopacy, it wou'd have been no hard Task to have done it*. Notwithstanding he boasts thus of their being a considerable Party, yet when a Bill for further *tolerating* the *Episcopal* Clergy was offer'd, they durst not stand the *Debate* and it was dropt. In the same Session the Duke of *Argyle* brought in a Bill, which made it High Treason to Speak or Write against the Claim of Right on which the Revolution was founded. This was thought to be intended to revenge the *Whigs* upon the *Tories* for the *Act of Security*, which they carry'd under the Notion of a *Country-Party* with Jacobite Views, as has already been made appear. This Bill was oppos'd by *James Muir*

of *Stenny-wood*, a great *Episcopalian*, and others of that Stamp. And the *Courtiers*, with whom the *Whigs* joyn'd, having for the Support of the Government procur'd a Bill to be brought in, allowing the Importation of *French-Wines* and *Brandy*, which would considerably augment the Revenue by the Customs; 'twas vigorously opposed by the *Cavaliers*, who did what they could to distress, but never came into any Measures to assist the State. The *Cavalier Faction* in the House will be distinguish'd from the *Loyal-Party*, by the Names of the *Protestors* to this and other good Bills.

A LIST of the Cavaliers and their Abettors in the Scotch Parliament, A. D. 1703, when the Act of Security past.

N O B I L I T Y.

Duke of <i>Hamilton</i> .		Earl of <i>Ruglen</i> .
Earl of <i>Errol</i> .		Viscount of <i>Stormont</i> .
Earl Marshal.		Lord <i>Semple</i> .
Earl of <i>Rothes</i> .		Lord <i>Blantyre</i> .
Earl of <i>Hume</i> .		Lord <i>Forrester</i> .
Earl of <i>Strathmore</i> .		Lord <i>Bargany</i> .
Earl of <i>Haddingtoun</i> .		Lord <i>Elibank</i> .
Earl of <i>Selkirk</i> .		Lord <i>Belhaven</i> .

Knights

KNIGHTS of Shires.

Mr. ——— Colvill of Kinnaird.	Mr. John Sinclair, jun. of Stevinsone.
Mr. Robert Dundas of Armistown.	Mr. James Hamilton of Arkenhead.
Sir Robert Dukesone of Inneraske.	Mr. William Cockran of Kilmaronock.
Mr. George Lockhart of Carnwath.	Sir Humphry Colque- houn of Luss.
Mr. Andrew Fletcher of Saltoune.	Mr. John Houston of that Ilk.
Mr. William Nisbet of Dirletoun.	Mr. John Grahame of Killearn.
Mr. John Cockburn, jun. of Ormistown.	Mr. James Graham of Bucklavy.
Sir Robert Sinclair of Longformachus.	Mr. Robert Dunbar of Graingebill.
Sir John Home of Blac- badder.	Mr. Robert Rollo of Powhouse.
Sir John Swintown of that Ilk.	Mr. Thomas Sharp of Houstoun.
Sir Patrick Home of Rentoun.	Mr. John Hadden of Glenegies.
Sir William Ker of Gren- head.	Sir Patrick Murray of Auchtertyre.
Mr. William Bennet of Grabet.	Mr. William Olyphant of Gask.
Mr. William Baillie of Lamingtoun.	Mr. Mungo Graham of Forthie.
Mr. George Baillie of Ferviswood.	Sir Thomas Burnet of Leyes.
	K 3
	Mr.

KNIGHTS of Shires,

Mr. Alexander Gordon of Pitliver.	Major Henry Belfour of Dunboig.
Mr. John Udney of that Ilk.	Mr. Robert Douglass of Strabendrie.
Mr. William Seaton of Pitmedden.	Mr. Patrick Lyon of Auchter-house.
Mr. James Muire of Stennywood.	Mr. James Halyburton of Pitcurr.
Mr. Lodovick Grant of that Ilk.	Mr. David Graham of Fintry.
Mr. Hugh Ross of Kil- ravock.	Mr. Alexander Duff of Bracoe.
Sir William Anstruther of that Ilk.	Mr. John Bruce of Kin- ross.
Mr. David Bethune of Balfour.	

BURGESSES.

Mr. Alexander Robert- son.	Sir James Halket.
Mr. Alexander Watson.	Mr. George Smith.
Mr. Alexander Edgar.	Mr. Robert Kelly.
Mr. George Fasson.	Mr. John Lyon.
Mr. James Oswald.	Mr. George Brodie.
Mr. Patrick Bruce.	Sir Robert Anstruther.
Sir John Anstruther.	Mr. John Carruthers.
Sir John Erskine.	Mr. George Hume.
Mr. James Spittle.	Mr. James Bethune.
Mr. Francis Molison.	Mr. John Baine.
	Mr. Alex. Arbutnot.

The House, when at the fullest, consisted of about 250 ; and here are about 80 Members, who call themselves the Country-Party, consisting of *Cavaliers*, and disgusted *Whigs*. Yet we find in this Parliament the *Whigs* had a Majority above Two to One ; but their Passion had impos'd so far on their Judgment, as to make many of 'em fall in with the Cry of the *Country*, without distinguishing the *Pretence* from the *Design*.

I shall speak a little of one or two of those Gentlemen who deserted the *Party* in which they were bred, and joyn'd in with the *Cavaliers*. Something has already been hinted of *George Lockhart* of *Carnwarth*, the Son of as good a Protestant as ever *Britain* bred. His Father, Sir *George*, Lord President in the Session, was shot at *Edinburgh*, in *April* 1689, as he was coming from Church, by a notorious *Jacobite*, *Chiesly* of *Dalry* ; and we may easily imagine it was for his Zeal in the *Revolution*, by the Character of his Accomplice *David Lindsay*, who was Servant to the Earl of *Melfort* ; and the Convention order'd him to be imprison'd in the *Talbooth* upon Suspicion. *Chiesly*, tho' put to the Torture would confess nothing, and *Lindsay*, fearing the same Fate, offer'd to be a Witness against him, as he was accordingly. This *Lindsay* being afterwards set at Liberty, made his Escape to *France*, and was sent by the Court of *St. Germain*s to the Conspirators in *England*, to carry and bring Intelligence

of their Proceedings in their Traiterous and Hellish Designs. We shall however find the Son of this murder'd Gentleman, if he, as it is commonly said, was the Author of our *Memoirs*, extolling *Lindsay* as one of the *Scotish* Worthies; which will be taken Notice of when we come to treat of the first *Scots* Plot in 1704; and we shall there see what a pious Son he proves himself to so deserving a Father, by the Panegyrick he writes on one of his *Murderers*.

Bailie of *Ferriſwood*, mention'd in the last List, was the Son of *Robert Bailie*, Esq; who was not only an Asserter of, but a Martyr for, the Protestant Cause in *Scotland*. In *December*, 1684, he was try'd at *Edinburgh* for High-Treason, his pretended Crime being a Correspondence with the Earl of *Argyle*, and the Lord *Ruffel*. For this Correspondence he had been before fin'd 6000*l.* Sterling by the Privy-Council, and therefore a Charge was now added of his being concern'd in the *English Presbyterian* Plot, and assisted, voted, and consulted for the raising 10000*l.* Sterling for buying of Arms, to be employ'd for raising Forces. This Conspiracy is a Romance in every Part of it, and was invented to Colour the butchering of the best Protestant Noblemen and Gentlemen in both Kingdoms. The *Tories* fell in with the *Papists* in their bloody Prosecution, and the Blood of this Innocent Gentleman, was to cry aloud for Vengeance in *Scotland*, as the Lord *Ruffel's* did in *England*.

The Jury of *Robert Bailie* of *Fervis-wood*, Esq; murder'd by the Scots *Tories*, in the Year 1684.

Earl of <i>Strathmore</i> , Foreman.	Mr. <i>Alexander Miln</i> , of <i>Carrin</i> .
Earl of <i>Balcarras</i> .	Mr. <i>James Ellies</i> , of <i>Steinhouse-Mills</i> .
Sir <i>George Skeen</i> , Pro- vost of <i>Aberdeen</i> .	Sir <i>William Drummond</i> , of <i>Hauthorndin</i> .
Sir <i>John Ramsay</i> , of <i>Whitekil</i> .	Major <i>Andrew White</i> , Lieutenant of <i>Edin- burgh-Castle</i> .
Sir <i>James Flemminge</i> , Provost of <i>Edinburgh</i> .	Mr. <i>David Graham</i> , Sheriff of <i>Wigtown</i> .
Mr. <i>Andrew Hepburn</i> , of <i>Humbie</i> .	Mr. <i>David Burnet</i> , Merchant in <i>Edin- burgh</i> .
Mr. <i>Andrew Bruce</i> , of <i>Earlshall</i> .	
Mr. <i>John Stewart Tut- tor</i> of <i>Appin</i> .	

Names that ought to be remember'd with Infamy, having the Guilt of Innocent Blood lying on them and their Posterity. You will find some of these, great Sticklers against the *Revolution*, and Leaders of the *Jacobites* afterwards. What might be expected from such wicked and cruel Men, had their Designs to restore their Popish King succeeded, one may guess by the Fate of Mr. *Bailie*.

The Advocates for the Court were

The King's Advocate, and Sir *John Louder*.

For the Prisoner appear'd

Sir *Patrick Hume*.

Mr. *Walter Pringle*.

Mr. *William Fletcher*.

Mr. *James Graham*.

AND

Mr. *William Baillie*.

'Tis a shame to Nobility, that the Earl of *Tarras*, who will also be found among our Letter-Writers Cavaliers, should be so base as to be Evidence in such a barbarous and illegal Case as this, to take away the Life of one of the Bravest of his Countrymen. But *Tories* were ever good at *Evidencing*, and when they had a Mind to murder a Man they never wanted a Witness: The main Matter of this Noble Earl's Testimony was, that Mr. *Baillie* would have perswaded him to have joyn'd with other Noblemen and Gentlemen in the *South* Parts of *Scotland*, in an Engagement, to press King *Charles II.* to pass the *Exclusion* Bill; and in order to this he was to be frighted by their securing *Berwick*, and *Edinburgh*, and *Striveling* Castles; but Mr. *Baillie* did not speak to him himself, he only sent one Mr. *Martin* from *London* to talk with him, and *Martin* was not present to witness that he came from him. The Earl of *Tarras* had been as great a Malecontent

as

as any one; but like the Lord Howard of *Es-
crick*, he was to go thro' the *drudgery of Swear-
ing* to save his Head. The other Witnesses swore,
that Mr. *Baillie* offer'd to carry the 10000*l.*
Sterling, which was to be rais'd, to the Earl of
Argyle in *Holland*; but the Lord *Russel*, whose
Word is more than a Thousand Witnesses, de-
claring at his Death, that there was no such
Conspiracy, if all the *Tories* upon Earth were
to swear the contrary, it would have no Weight
with any Honest Men; that Lord's Piety and
Virtue being as well known as the Cruelty and
Vice of the Two Brothers that thirsted after his
Blood, for the vigorous Opposition their Ty-
ranny met with from him. Mr. *William Car-
stairs*, who has since serv'd King *William*, Queen
Mary, and Queen *Anne* as their *Scots* Chaplain,
was put to the Torture to make him confess
something against this Gentleman, and others;
but he knew nothing, and consequently being
a Man of Religion, could say nothing to hurt
him or them; however the Earl of *Strathmore*,
and his Jury, found the Prisoner Guilty, and
Sentence of Death was pronounc'd as follows.

*Forasmuch as it is found by an Assize, that
Mr. Robert Baillie of Jerviswood, is guilty of
the particular Crimes mention'd in his Dittay;
therefore the Lords Justice General, Justice
Clerk, and Remanent Lords Commissioners of His
Majesty's Justiciary, and I in their Names de-
cree and adjudge the said Mr. Robert Baillie to*
be

be taken to the Mercatt-Cross of Edinburgh, this present 24th Instant of December, and there between Two and Four a Clock in the Afternoon, to be hanged on a Gibbet until he be dead; his Head to be cut off, and affixed upon the Nether-bow of Edinburgh, his Body to be quarter'd, the one Quarter to be put upon the Talbooth of Jedburgh, the other on Lanrick, the third on Aire, and the fourth on the Talbooth of Glasgow; and ordains all his Lands and Rents, Goods and Gear, to be forfeited to His Majesty's Use; his Arms torn and rent, his Coat Armour, all to be razed out of the Lyon-Books, so that he, or none of his Posterity shall bear Arms in Time to come.

Mr. Baillie profess'd when he was ask'd, *What he had to say before Sentence, That he never was in any Conspiracy against the King's Life, or the Duke of York's, and never did design to subvert the Government; but that indeed he had consulted of Means to have the Grievances the Nation groan'd under redrest, and should die innocently, and with a good Conscience.* After Sentence, he said he *had too short Time*: The Mercy of the Tories was seen in their hurrying him away from Sentence to Execution; which he suffer'd with the Courage of a Christian and a Briton, a Martyr in the strictest Sense for Liberty and Religion; yet did his Son, we see, so far degenerate as to joyn with the Faction that had butcher'd his Father; but tho'

tho' he laps'd, it was but for a Season ; he soon discover'd thir wicked Designs, which they carried on under the specious Pretences of Love to their Country, and left them. The Fall of such a Man is only to serve as a Foyl to his Rise again, and he has by many Instances prov'd since, that when he err'd with them, it was an Error not of the Will, but of the Understanding, which they had darken'd by their insinuating Disguises. Had *Lockbart* made the same Attonement for his *Degeneracy*, he should have had the same Justice done him ; but it will be seen in the whole Course of the *Memoirs*, that he is Incurable, and acts as if he was insensible of the Ties of Blood and Nature, of Love to his Father, and his Country.

I shall in the next Place look a little into the Plot, which I have hinted something of already ; and which tho' it could never be thoroughly discover'd, has left room for Suspicion that there was much more in it than what the *Memoir-Writer* pretends. We all know how the *Lancashire* Plot was banter'd and ridicul'd ; and since the Assassination-Conspiracy which branch'd out of it, no Body questions the Truth of it ; several of the Conspirators having confess'd that *Parker* was in *Lancashire*, and that the *Popish* and *Tory* Gentlemen of that County, who were charg'd with the Plot, were really engag'd in it. It highly concern'd the D. of *A*—— to destroy the Evidence of Capt. *Frazer*, the first Discoverer of the

Scots

Scots Plot in the Year 1703; that Lord being charg'd Home with it in *Frazer's* Discovery. The Fact was this: *Frazer* having by Force taken Possession of the Lady *Lovat's* Person and Estate, began a sort of Civil War, supported by those of his Clan; but the Government authoriz'd the Marq. of *A---*, Father of the Duke and the Lady *Lovat*, to rescue her by Arms, which he did; and *Frazer* fearing he should be severely punish'd for his Rape and Rebellion, fled to *France*, where offering his Service to the *French* King, he was employ'd by him to raise a Rebellion in *Scotland* in favour of the *Pretender*. He was introduc'd to Queen-Abdicatè, and her pretended Son at *St. Germain's*; turn'd Papist, and had Access to his most Christian Majesty by means of the Pope's Nuncio. At *St. Germain's* he had frequent Consultations with the *Scots* Fugitives, how to carry on an Invasion of *Scotland*; and was at last sent to that Kingdom to get Intelligence; and hearten and strengthen the Party, by Promises of Men and Money. The *French* King gave him 500 Pistoles, and Capt. *John Murray* was order'd to accompany and assist him in this Enterprize.

It is objected to this Man's Evidence, that he was a Ravisher, a Rebel, and an Apostate: And for God's Sake, what Sort of Men must we expect to bear Witness against *Traitors* to their Country? Will honest sober Men enter into such damnable Conspiracies? Will any one but a Rogue be concern'd in a *Tory-Plot*, to betray

us to the *French*? We cannot doubt but the *St. Germains* People believ'd him the fitter for their Purpose; the greater Villain he was, the more likely to make a *staunch Papist*, and the more worthy of their Confidence. He must therefore be acquainted with their Contrivances, and let into some of their treasonable Secrets, tho' perhaps not so deeply as to be able to bring Matters to the clearest Light. It must be observ'd, that he had procur'd a Pardon for every Thing, but the Rape, before he went to *France*. His Services in King *William's* Army, obtaining him the Favour of the Ministry so far, as to have Remission for all his Crimes, but that in the Year 1701, in which he was assisted by the Reverend Mr. *William Castaires*, His Majesty's *Scots* Chaplain, then attending him in *Holland*: That Crime His Majesty was pleas'd, with great Justice, to leave to the Law. Upon Capt. *Frazer's* coming to *Scotland*, he was prosecuted by the Lady *Lovat*, and her Brother the Duke of *A—*, and forc'd to fly his Country, as has been said. *St. Germains* being the most proper Asylum he could think of, thither he went, and there it was that he learn'd many Things, the Discovery of which he hop'd would procure him a full Pardon: Accordingly, as soon as he came to *Scotland*, he apply'd to his Grace the Duke of *A—e*, and the Earl of *L—*, by whom he was introduc'd to a Prime Minister of State, who thought his Discovery of so much Importance, that he gave him 200 Guineas, a Pass,

and

and Protection, with Assurances of further Encouragement, as he merited it by his Informations.

Frazer, and his Companion *Murray*, went from *Edinburgh* to the *Highlands*, where he met several Heads of Clans, to whom he shew'd the Pretender's Commission for him to be a Major-General, and the Instructions he had receiv'd in *France*; upon which, those Rebels readily enter'd into Consultations with him for making an Insurrection against the Government. The Duke of *A—e* hearing he was in *Scotland* solicited the Council, and obtain'd a Commission of *Fire and Sword* against him. Upon that he quits *Scotland*, posts to *London*, where he gave his Grace the Duke of *Queensberry* an Account of his traiterous Negotiations both in *France* and *Scotland*. The Designs of the *Jacobites* not being ripe enough yet to be effectually prevented by exposing them and punishing the Criminals, *Frazer* was permitted to go to *France* again, he offering to serve as a Spy; a Part none but a Villain would accept of; and yet such Rogues are as necessary to Statesmen as Honest Men, and some Body must do the Business. When he was in *France* he wrote Letters, by Way of *Holland*, to the Duke of *Queensberry*, the Earl of *L—n*, and others, giving an Account of a Correspondence carry'd on between some *Scots* Lords and the Court of *St. Germans*; but he was not let far enough into the Secret to make out the Treason by full Evidence;

dence; nor had he Time to bring his Matters to Perfection: For *Ferguson* having discover'd that he had had an Understanding with the Duke of *Queensberry*, and other Ministers of State, gave Intimation of it to the *Scots* Lords, and the Duke of *A——e*, in particular, that *Frazer*, in a borrow'd Name, dealt doubly with them. When the Spy was sent last to *France*, he had a Pass from the Earl of *N——m*, then one of Her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State; and the *Memoir-Writer* cries out upon this, *If he went upon a good Design, what need was there of making his Person and Business a Secret to the Queen's Secretary?* Great need there was of it, for we find *Ferguson* could come to the Knowledge of the Business, even when *Frazer* had made use of a Fictitious Name; and what would his going to *France* have signify'd, had every one known on what Errand he was sent, to discover the Bottom of the *Scots* Designs to promote the Interest of the Pretender? Before *Frazer* left *London*, he gain'd over Mr. *William Keith*, Son of Sir *William Keith*, a great Dependur, says the Author of the *Memoirs, on the Duke of Athole*, p. 81. and *Keith*, as he phrases it, *dipp'd deep enough with him*. What does he mean by dipping deep, but entering into a Conspiracy to dethrone *Queen Anne*, and set up the Pretender? Yet would he all along have us believe, that there was nothing in it, but all was an Invention of the Duke of *Queensbury* to Ruin the Duke of *A——*. Certain it is, the former produc'd a

Letter from *Queen-Abdicatè*, directed to L—— M——, which the *Memoir-Writer* tells us he interpreted the Lord Murray, formerly the Title of the Duke of A——, before his Father died. What he adds of the Improbability of the Fact, from the ill Character of *Frazer*, has been answer'd already; It is impossible to find out *Treason* without the help of a *Traytor*. And tho' the *Jacobites* had the *Dexterity* to turn this Plot upon the *Whigs* in *Scotland*, as they had formerly done the *Lancashire Plot* in *England*, yet when the House of Lords took the Matter into Consideration, They came to the following Resolution :

Resolved,

That there had been a dangerous Conspiracy in Scotland, toward the invading that Kingdom with a French Power, in order to subvert Her Majesty's Government, and the bringing in the Pretended Prince of Wales; That it was their Opinion, nothing had given so much Encouragement to these Designs as the Succession of the Crown of Scotland not being declar'd in Favour of the Princess Sophia, and Her Heirs: That the Queen should be Addressed to use such Methods as She thought convenient, for having the Succession of the Crown of that Kingdom settled after that Manner; and that being once done, they would then do all in their Power to promote an entire Union of the Two Kingdoms.

The *Scots* Lords took effectual Care to stifle the Discovery in its Birth ; for they soon sent an Account of *Frazer's* Business in *France*, to the Court of *St. Germans* ; and for fear he should get back, and do more Mischief, he was clapt up in the *Bastile*. There then remain'd no Witnesses to prove the Fact upon those that were accus'd ; and then, as 'tis natural for them to do in such Cases, they made a Noise on their Side of the Injustice done them, in accusing them falsely : The Ministry in *England* were at that Time Tory. Tho' their Credit was pretty well lost ; yet they had Power enough to favour the *Jacobites* on this and other Occasions, so as to skreen them from Justice ; in which perhaps a higher Inclination had also its Influence : Thus this Matter was no more heard of. And whether from what has been said, there is not Ground enough to believe that *Frazer* knew of a Correspondence between the *Scots Jacobites* and the *St. Germans* Court, let the impartial Reader determine.

Soon after this Plot was discover'd, *David Lindsay*, before-mention'd, was apprehended in *England* coming from the Pretender, for which he was try'd and condemn'd. This is the Person who was concern'd in the Murder of *Sir George Lockhart*, whose Son is said to be the Author or Collector, and Publisher of the *Memoirs* : He complains, as a great Hardship, that *Lindsay* should be condemn'd after he had plead-ed he was a Scotsman ; tho' by Act of Parliament, all the Subjects of King *William*, Queen

Mary; and *Queen Anne*, who came to *England* from *St. Germain's* without Leave, were Guilty of *High-Treason*: What did it avail *Capt. Green* to plead he was a Native of *England*? And yet it was not *Treason* for an *Englishman* to put in with his Ship into a *Scots* Port; which was all *Green's* Crime as far as I can hear of; at least all the Crime he was accountable to the *Scots* for.

I have observ'd, that the *Faction* was not yet discarded when these Affairs were a-foot, and it is not to be doubted but *Lindsay* knew very well, that the haling him to *Tyburn*, and the putting the Rope about his Neck was all Grimace. His Friends doubtless had assur'd him of a Pardon, and that made him so obstinately persist in his Resolution, not to hurt any of 'em by Confessing. This Fellow being the Witness against *Chiesly*, who murder'd the Father of *Lockhart* of *Cornwath*, and an Accomplice of the Murderers, I shall be at the Trouble to copy out *C ——— th's* Panegyrick on him in the *Memoirs*, p. 93.

Thus they tempted him to save himself, by charging others with what he knew they were innocent of; but he (to his immortal Honour be it said) answered, He was willing to die rather than save his Life upon such Terms. Whereupon the Sheriff ordered the Cart to draw on. But finding he was resolved to stand it out, in behaving himself as became a good Christian and worthy Gentleman, he produced Queen Anne's Reprieve,

grieve, suspending the Execution. Lindsay having thus by his heroick Behaviour disappointed the Designs of those, who hoped by this severe Method to force a Confession true or false one out of him, &c.

This worthy Person writes this Encomium on a Murderer, a Traytor, at the Expence of the Reputation of the most Noble of his own and our Countrey-men, whom he makes in a Conspiracy to extort false Evidence from a condemn'd Criminal, that might justify the Steps they took in the Discovery of the *Scots Plot*. How such a Man deserves Credit I leave to others to judge. My Opinion being not wanting by this Time, having detected him so often of Falsity in the preceeding Pages.

That I have not injur'd him in calling him a *Jacobite*, will appear by what is said of him in the very *Memoirs*, p. 108. He's there speaking of an Intrigue carry'd on by the Dukes of *Hamilton* and *Athol*, to disappoint the good Designs of the Dukes of *Queensberry* and *Argyle*, who labour'd to suppress the Faction, and restore *Unity between the Two Nations*. *A——e* being at *London*, and finding the Tory Interest was sinking, which had till then kept the *Jacobites* in *Scotland* in Heart, wrote to the Duke of *Hamilton* for some Persons of the *Countrey-Party* to assist him. We have hinted that several Protestant *Scots* were drawn in to oppose the Court, on Account of the pretended Oppressions the *Scots Nation* lay under from the *English Ministers*.

sters. They meant honestly, but were all the while doing the *Jacobites* Business ; and now *Hamilton* got the Earl of *Roxburgh*, & *Baillie* of *Jerviswood*, to be sent with the Earl of *Rothes*, as the Country-Party's Commissioners to negotiate and manage their Affairs in Conjunction with *A—e*. Duke *Hamilton* finding the Whigs were coming into Play at Court, thought it not convenient to send *Jacobites* thither ; and therefore though several of the leading Men among them were at *Edinburgh*, when this Matter was transacted, yet he did not consult them, as the *Memoir-Writer* complains, naming the *Jacobites* to whom he did *not impart his Mind*, as the Earl of *Home*, the Earl of *Strathmore*, the *Viscount* of *Stormont*, *Cochran* of *Kilmarnock*, and *Lockhart* of *Carnwath*. How the late Managers caress'd and confided in these Cavaliers, is too fresh in our *Memories* to need Repetition here. The last of them was in all their Parliaments and Secrets, a Committee-man and Creature ; and by him one may make a good Judgment of his Patrons. The Three Commissioners when they came to *London*, having better consider'd of their Commission, and finding it was entirely in Favour of the Cavalier-Party, refus'd to act in it, and fell in with those that were for uniting the Two Nations against *France* and the *Pretender*, which was Death to the *Faction* : And accordingly the Two Earls, and *Baillie* of *Jerviswood*, were never forgiven by them : Their Defection being a Blow that the Cavaliers never recover'd of. *Baillie* of *Jervis-*

Jerviswood, though he had voted with them several Times, when he thought it for the Interest of his Countrey; yet *our Author* owns he never had the least Thought of serving the Royal Family. The Family that butcher'd his Father; the Family that murder'd his Father's Friends, the Lord *Russell*, Col. *Sydney*, &c.; the Family that had enslav'd his Countrey, and made it a Scene of Slaughter and Spoil: A Family then fugitive for these Crimes, and remaining without Affection or Pity from any honest Mind. For my Part, when I reflect on the barbarous Murder of those brave and pious Patriots, the execrable Cruelty practis'd on Mr. *Johnson*, and the *Western* Butchery, I cannot think that if this Royal Family had left Heirs to a hundred Generations, the Murder of so many Innocents wou'd ever have been forgotten. No wonder then that Mr. *Baillie* had never the least Design of serving them.

Of all the *Scots* Gentlemen, whom King *William* employ'd, there was not one more faithful to Him, than Mr. *Johnston*, Secretary for that Kingdom: A Man of excellent Parts, great Experience, and unquestion'd Fidelity. For this Reason, and no other, does the *Memoir-Writer* treat him so unhandsomely, and yet at the same time allows him to be able and true to his Master; he abusively says of this Worthy Gentleman, *He is so vile and execrable a Wretch, that he deserves not so much room here as to have a large Character, tho' indeed he was a Skrewd Cunning Fellow.* This Mr. *Johnston* was very

instrumental in convincing the Earls of *Rothel* and *Roxburgh*, and Mr. *Baillie*, of the Ill Designs of the Party that sent them to *London*; which indeed tended to nothing but to widen the Breaches between *England* and *Scotland*, in hopes thereby to prevent the *Scots* settling the Crown on the *Protestant Heirs*; and for this the Author of the *Memoirs*, contrary to Justice, Truth, Good Manners, and even Common Decency, vilifies a Gentleman, who has done more good Service for his Country than all his *Country-Party* put together. The Latter began daily to grow more and more weary of associating with the *Cavaliers*; and upon the Change of the Ministry in *England* from *Tory* to *Whig*, when the same happy Turn was effected in *Scotland*, the true *Country-Party* joyn'd in with the Court, and left only a few Disgusted *Whigs* with the *Cavaliers*.

The Latter knowing *Frazer* was safe in the *Bastile* and cou'd tell no Tales, seem'd mighty earnest to have the Business of the Plot sifted into, under Pretence of Injustice done the D. of *A—* and the other accus'd *Scotchmen*. This they hop'd wou'd end in an Attack upon the Duke of *Queensbury*; for the Faction having lock'd *Frazer* up fast, the Plot wou'd seem to want the Evidence necessary for bringing it upon the Stage, and then the Duke of *Queensbury*, who had been very busy in it wou'd consequently have the Blame. The *Loyal-Party* was not strong enough to oppose the *Faction* without dividing the *Country-Party* from them; and

and tho' that was done in some measure by the above-mention'd *Defection*; yet when any Thing came in Debate which had a Face of a *Scotch* Interest separate from *England*, there were great Numbers of those that hated *France* and the *Pretender*, yet were nevertheless against joyning with the *English*. The *Faction*, who had nothing in View but to prevent the *Protestant Succession*, durst not openly declare their Intention, but did their Work as privately as they cou'd, and like Watermen look'd one Way and row'd another. The Dukes of *Hamilton* and *A——l* to make sure of the main Design, the hindring the *Succession* in the *Hannover-Line*, thought it convenient to dissemble a little with the Duke of *Queensbury*; to which they were doubtless instigated, as much by a Conscioufness of there having been Conspirators in *Scotland* to bring in the *Pretender*; and therefore the enquiring into the *Scots* Plot might not have the Success they expected. So it was agreed by these Dukes, and some Friends of the Dukes of *Queensbury*, that past Differences should be slipt over, and they would then joyn all in opposing the *Succession*, at least the settling it at the Pleasure of *England*. But it must be own'd to the Honour of several Noble *Scotchmen*, that they would not come into this Agreement against the Interests of the House of *Hanover*; as the Marquess of *Montrose*, the Marquess of *Twedale*, the Earl of *Rothes*, the Earl of *Roxburgh*, the Earl of *Selkirk*, the Earl of *A——n*, the Lord *B——n*, *Dundas* of *Arnistoun*, *Cockburn* jun. of *Ormistoun*,

toun, Sir John Home of Blackbadder, Sir Will. Ker of Greenbeed, Bennet jun. of Grubbet, Baily of Lamington, Bailie of Jerviswood, Sinclair jun. of Stevenson, Halden of Glenagies, Sir William Anstruther of Anstruther, Douglas of Strenie, Halyburton of Pitcurr, and Bruce jun. of Kinross, KNIGHTS of the SHIRE. Patrick Bruce, Alexander Edgar, Sir John Anstruther, Sir John Areskine of Alba, James Spittle of Leucat, and Sir James Hacket of Pitfirren, BURGESSES. This great Defection wou'd have crush'd the Scots Jacobite Faction for ever, had not the above Agreement of some Friends of the Duke of Queensbury's with the Cavaliers added a greater Weight still to that side, when the Parliament met the 6th of July, 1704, the Marquess of Tweeddale, Lord High Commissioner. If you meet with any of the Gentlemen that left the Cavaliers Party contesting Elections in the Two Last Parliaments, you find the Tories never forgave them. They set a Mark upon them then, and have on all Occasions let them feel the Effects of their Resentment, whether as to Places or Seats in Parliament; so inveterate are they against them for their falling in with the Friends to the Protestant Succession. The first Member of this Parliament who made a Motion against it was Duke Hamilton, late Master of the Ordnance of Great-Britain, and Queen Anne's Ambassador to Lewis the XIV, and no doubt he wou'd have seen no Body else when he was in France, nor have receiv'd the Thanks of the Folks at St. Germain's for

for his signalizing himself so much in their Service. This Motion of his was made the 13th of July, and was against the Nomination of a Successor, till they had gain'd their Point of England, which he knew England wou'd never comply with ; and then if he carry'd his Vote the House of Hanover wou'd be kept out of the Succession. This was the Man the late Ministers trusted above all others ; and when my Lord Mobun kill'd him in a Duel, they made his Death a State Business ; cram'd the Gazettes with false Informations of it ; order'd a solemn Proclamation to seize Lieutenant-General Maccartney, who was my Lord Mobun's Second ; promis'd a Reward of 500 l. for the Government, and another of 300 l. for the Dutchess, to any one that shou'd take him ; suborn'd a Witness to swear he was Assassinated and not Kill'd in fair Fight, and all this Stir because he was the best Friend King James or his pretended Son ever had in Britain ; and the most zealous to introduce Tyranny and Idolatry, by setting one or other of them on the Throne. I must be allow'd such Digressions as this, my Design being not so much to inform the Reader of Facts, as of the Views and Intentions of the Tories and Jacobites in Scotland.

How the Cavaliers there approv'd of the Conduct of our English Tories, may be seen by their Vote in favouring the Tackers. The House of Commons of England was then Tory. The Occasional Bill had pass'd them twice ; & when the Faction in Scotland pass'd a Vote against that of the English House

House of Lords, relating to the before-mention'd Plot, they wou'd needs distinguish the Commons from them by a peculiar Vote in their Favour, *that the Proceedings of the House of Commons were like those of good Subjects to the Queen, and good Neighbours to us.* Notwithstanding, the Earl of R——b, Lord B——— and Mr. Bailie, were bespatter'd, as the *Memoir-Writer* has it, by this Plot; yet were they so sensible of the Intentions of the *Faction* to promote the *Tory* or *Cavalier* Interest by this Vote, that not considering themselves, they generously Voted against the *Cavaliers*, and prevented the passing the Vote in praise of the *English Tacking Representative*. However, the hot Measures taken in *England*, the high Tone the Courtiers us'd with reference to *Scotland*; the Talk of Fortifying *Berwick, Newcastle, Tinnmouth, and Carlisle*, gave such Offence to the *Scots*, that the *Country-Party*, as they call'd it, rather gain'd than lost ground; and the *Jacobites* hugg'd themselves to see how they bubbled the Protestant *Scots* by the Noise they made for Trade and Independency, before they would allow a Word to be said of the *Succession*; and this Humour lasted as long as the *Tories* had any Hand in the Administration of Affairs in *England*. But when my Lord *Godolphin*, who saw thro' the Disguises of the *Scots* and *English Faction*, that the Cry of Church in one Kingdom, and of Trade in t'other, was alike *Jacobitism*; that there must be steady Measures to accomplish a Union, and disappoint the Designs of the *Faction*,

Faction, and that it cou'd never be effected while there was a Motley Ministry in both Kingdoms: when, I say, that Great Minister brought about a thorough Change of Hands, as well *Scotch* as *English*, and the *Whigs* prevail'd both in *England* and *Scotland*, there soon appear'd a better Temper in both Nations, and Arms and War were no more talk'd of.

Not long after *Queen Anne* came to the Crown, the *Tories* who had the Command of all Things, got several rank *Jacobites*, as any in *Scotland*, admitted into the Privy Council there; among these were Sir *James Foulis* of *Colingtown*, and *Lockhart* of *Cornwarth*, who were now order'd to be dismiss'd that Board, where they had so many Opportunities to serve their Master. About this Time the Duke of *Argyle* was declar'd Commissioner, and the Loyal Party thence began to conceive some Hopes that the *Succession* might pass. The *Faction* continu'd still to throw all Obstacles in its Way, and at the Head of it still appear'd the Duke of *Hamilton*, who then cultivated a strict Friendship with the Earl of *M——n*; whose Father the *Memoir-Writer* says, *embarqu'd in the Revolution, but gave afterwards a particular, tho' fatal Sign of his Remorse and Repentance*. He did that for himself, one would think, by his Expression, which the Hangman ought to do for our Author: This Earl you will often meet with in the History of the last four Years of *Queen Anne*, when *Great-Britain* was bless'd with so able and so honest a Ministry.

His Grace the Duke of *Argyle* presiding in that Parliament of *Scotland*, in which the Treaty of Union was first propos'd; and in which the Duke of *Hamilton*, and his *Cavaliers*, as their Author informs us, *thought it proper, come of other Things what will, to prevent the Succession, and a Treaty with England* in order to it, so far did their specious Pretences prevail, that they carry'd a *Vote*, That no Successor should be nam'd, till a previous Treaty with *England* about *Commerce* and *Independency* was concluded. The Marquis of *Montross* vigorously oppos'd this *Vote*, for which our Author spares him no more than he does any other Lord of the *Hannoverian-Party*. In his *Invective* on his Grace the present Duke of *Montross*, he has a Passage which shews what an admirable *Divine* he is, as we have seen in a Thousand Places what a Talent he has for History. He says, that Noble Lord *had several Times of Late receiv'd the Sacrament from the Presbyterian Ministers, which in Honest Mens Opinion inferred necessarily his owning the Validity of their Excommunication of his Great Grandfather; for if they had a Power of administering Sacraments, it must likewise be allow'd that they had a Power of Excommunication.* And why not? Have not Protestant Churches the Power of *Excommunication* as well as *Popish*? Is not the Church of *Scotland* as much by Law establish'd there as the Church of *England* is here? Or is there no Protestant Church but our own that has such a Power? But what Reason or Truth can we ex-

pect from such an abandon'd Traytor to his Country ? In his Libel on the then M. of *M*— he adds, that his Lordship *continued closely to the Court of Interest* ; and a Line or Two lower charges him with Wavering and Dissimulation ; which Contradiction is much more easily reconcil'd, than his pretended Love to his Country can be to his wicked Designs to enslave it, he owning himself to have been engag'd deeply with the *Jacobites*, in many Places of his *Memoirs*.

The *Faction*, as I have often observ'd, had nothing in the World in View, but to prevent the settling the Crown on the Princess *Sophia* and her Issue. All their Pretences for the promoting Trade, Support of Credit, and the like, were so many Bones of Dissention thrown in between *England* and *Scotland* to sowre the Temper of both Nations, and hinder the Settlement of the *Protestant Succession*. This the *Scots* knew the *English* to be fond of above all Things, and the *Jacobites* had the easier Task to gain over a great Number of well-meaning *Scotchmen*, to oppose that *Succession* purely in opposition to the *English*.

About 20 Days after the Parliament met, (says the *Memoir-Writer*,) the Cavaliers thought it proper, come of other Things what will, to prevent the *Succession's* being establish'd; and the Treaty with *England* being in order to establish it, they wou'd not hear of it without such Preliminaries as it consisted neither with the Honour nor Interest of *England* to comply with. There were
a good

a good Party in the *Scots* Parliament, who would gladly have settled the Succession first, and then have treated with *England* afterwards; of these the Marquis of *Tweddale* was Chief; and they having the Protestant Religion, and the Liberty of their Country mostly at Heart, were for securing them in the first Place, and then for adjusting Matters with the *English*; this show'd that they were not for opposing for Opposition Sake; but for settling the Crown with necessary Limitations, which the *Cavaliers* were very earnest to have enlarg'd, and the Prerogative par'd as much as they could: The *Tories* both *English* and *Scots*, being a Crew made up of Inconsistency and Contradiction.

In King *Charles's* and King *James's* Reign, all their Talk was, the *Power* of the *King*, and the *Prerogative* of the *Crown*; for if they can at any Time act an under-Part of Tyranny over their Fellow Subjects, they will gladly give up their *Rights* and *Privileges* to the *Will* of the *Prince*; but when the *Crown* is not on their Side, then, as they did in King *William's* Reign, they bawl out *Liberty* and *Country*, louder than the most arrant *Republicans*. During the Tyranny of the late Managers, the *Crown* and *Prerogative* were the only Topicks they declaim'd upon; and some of 'em did not stick to assert in their Sermons, that we held every Thing at the *Prince's* Pleasure: Now His present Majesty has destroy'd that Tyranny, by his Happy Accession to the Throne, nothing is heard from 'em but the *Act* of *Limitations*, which
 pares

pare the Prerogative more than all the Acts that have pass'd since the Revolution. Whenever therefore you hear them cry out, for more Limitations, or continuing every one of the former, reasonable or not reasonable, you may be sure they do it only, as the *Memoir-Writer* tells us the *Jacobites* did in *Scotland*, when the Limitations for the Successor were debating there, they were *crippling* the *Crown* as much as they could; that if they could not hinder it being settled on the Protestant Heirs, they might *make the best of an ill Bargain, by clogging the Monarch, in Case the House of Hanover should come to the Crown*, p. 150. The Treaty with *England* being mov'd, up starts the Duke of *Hamilton* and opposes it, and offers a Vote for *Limitations*.

Can any one imagine that the Cavaliers fell in with Republicans, only to advance the Cause of Liberty, which is the Bane of their hellish Cause Tyranny; and yet did most of them joyn in with Mr. *Fletcher* of *Saltoun*, who upon Common-Wealth Principles offer'd Twelve Articles to be agreed on, to limit the Successor; some of which were so Republican, that all the Highflying Parsons in *Great Britain* will vouch, that it is a damnable Sin to force the Monarch to comply with them: A Monarch to whom they affirm we *owe Obedience without Reserve*. I will repeat such only of those Articles as are founded on *Republican* Principles in *general*, and have not any particular Relation to *Scotland*.

M. As

As, the *Fourth*, That the King shall give the Royal Assent to all Laws offered by the Estates.

The *Fifth*, That a Committee of Parliament have the Administration under the King, and be accountable to the Parliament.

The *Sixth*, That the King, without the Consent of the Parliament, shall not have the Power of making Peace and War.

The *Seventh*, That the Parliament shall dispose of all Places, Civil and Military, and assign all Pensions.

The *Eighth*, That no Forces be rais'd or kept up in Peace or War, without Consent of Parliament.

The *Tenth*, That no Pardon shall be valid without Consent of Parliament.

The *Twelfth*, That if any King break in upon any of these Conditions of Government, he shall by the Estates be declar'd to have forfeited the Crown.

These were the Limitations the Scots Tories would have had impos'd on the Protestant Successors; they would not have left His Majesty the Power of choosing His own Ministers, of making Peace and War. Happy had it been for
Great-

Great-Britain, if there had been a Suspension of that Part of the Prerogative from *Lammas*, 1710, to *Lammas* 1714; of making his own Officers, of assigning his own Pensions, of raising Soldiers, or giving Pardons. And tho' the *Faction*, by their Priests, tell us at least once a Year, that Kings are accountable to none but God, and hardly to the Divinity himself; yet if in any of those Limitations the Protestant Successor had offended, he was not only to Account, but forfeit his *Crown*. The Earl of S—s spoke against this Common-Wealth Scheme, and was answer'd by the Author of it, Mr. *Fletcher* of *Saltoun*, who with great Bitterness said, *It was no wonder his Lordship was against it, for had there been such an Act his Lordship had long e're now been Hang'd*. This Rudeness was highly applauded by the *Jacobites*; and tho' Mr. *Fletcher* thought no more of the *Pretender*, than of the *Great Turk*; yet because his Project help'd to make the *Scots Crown* a bad Bargain for the House of *Hanover*, the *Faction* were for it; and the *Memoir-Writer* adds with a particular Shew of Approbation, that Mr. *Fletcher*, speaking in Vindication of his last Article, said, *Sure I am, if it be not approven, this House must own they treated the last King James most barbarously and unjustly*.

There was now some Talk of reviving the Business of the Plot, and detecting the Fraud of it as was pretended; the *Jacobites* were mighty hot upon it at first, but as their Author informs us, *They were not now so forward, be-*

cause they were afraid they might well shew their Teeth but could not bite. The true Reason was doubtless a wise Caution not to stir that Matter too much, nor trace Truth too near upon the Heels; the Parliament found neither Authentick Papers, nor Evidence, sufficient to ground a Charge of Fraud upon; so the Principal Persons that were accus'd of the Plot, as Duke *Hamilton*, and the Duke of *A—*, contented themselves with making Declarations of their own Innocence. Indeed the Duke of *A—* did say something against the Duke of *Queensberry*, and charg'd him with Writing Letters to the Queen, affirming, *That the Jacobites were Her Enemies*; a very great Hardship, upon him and them, that those who were in the Interests of the Pretender, should be accus'd of being no good Friends to *Queen Anne*; yet that the Duke of *A—* in his Speech on this Subject, did make this sad Complaint against the Duke of *Queensberry*, is told us by the Author of the *Memoirs*, who, says the Duke of *A—* *produc'd Letters from the Duke of Queensbury to Her Majesty, affirming the whole Cavaliers were concern'd in the Plot, or at least Enemies to Her.* The Reader does not now want to be inform'd, that *Cavaliers*, in this Author's Cant, is *Jacobites*; and how absurdly did the *Faction* go about to clear themselves of the Plot?

By the Backwardness of the House to go the Duke of *A—*'s Lengths in the Affair of the Conspiracy, which to use his own Words, was to have it declar'd *Villanous, Dishonourable, False,*

False, and Scandalous; the *Whigs* began to exert themselves, and it was resolv'd to improve the present Good Disposition of the House by pushing the Act for a Treaty of Union, which was offer'd by the Earl of *M——r*; and the *Jacobites*, as their Author informs us, *finding there was at least a great Inclination in the House for a Treaty*, thought it improper to oppose it any longer in general Terms, and therefore resolv'd to endeavour to clog the Commission with such Restrictions and Provisions as should retard the Treaty's taking Effect. Thus we see that the Opposition the Union met with, was much on Account of the Interests of *Scotland*, as the Interests of the Pretender; for the *Cavaliers*, or *Jacobites*, or *Tories*, three Denominations for the same Faction, were by much the Majority of the *Negatives* in this Debate. He adds, *the Duke of Queensberry, the Earl of S——, and all that were thoroughly on a Revolution Foot were for a Union*; which consequently must be the Majority of the Nation; or the Majority of the Nation be *Jacobites*, which however was never pretended. 'Tis true, the *Tory* or *Jacobite* Faction in *Scotland* were *Noisy, Riotous, and Insolent*; they rais'd Tumults there as they did at *Sacheverel's* Tryal in *England*, and boasted they were the Nine in Ten in both Kingdoms; but how vain their Boasts were, appears now to the Satisfaction of all Honest Men, by the Happy Elections both in *South*, and *North-Britain*, where the *Prote-*

Stants or *Whigs* have a Majority which never was known in any Tryal of the kind before.

I am now entring upon the Union, and in the Prosecution of it I shall only take Notice of such Incidents and Speeches as serve to take off the Disguises of the Faction, and shew it in their true *Jacobite* Colours.

The Act for a Treaty being agreed to, the next Debate was, who should Name the Commissioners, the Parliament or the Queen: Duke *Hamilton* had on all Occasions oppos'd this Treaty, even to this Clause for Nomination, the most Important of any; for had the *Cavaliers* carry'd their Point for the Parliament's Nomination, they would have nam'd such as would surely have retarded the Treaty's taking Effect; but now, on what Considerations I shall not pretend to determine, he himself, to the great Surprize of the Faction, made a Motion, That *the Nomination of the Commissioners should be left wholly to the Queen*; Upon which *Twelve or Fifteen of the Jacobites ran out of the House like Mad-Men*, and the Clause was carry'd in the Affirmative, which ended in approving the entire Act for a Treaty of Union with *England*.

In the Morning of the Day when that Act pass'd, the *Memoir-Writer* informs us, That *Forty or Fifty Jacobites* were in a Cabal how to obstruct the Nomination, and had agreed upon a Method, which they sent by the Earl of *Strathmore*, *George Lockhart of Carnwarth*, and
George

George Home of *Whitfield*, to acquaint *Duke Hamilton* of; but they mist of him, and he voted with the Court, giving to *Carnwarth*, and others, for a Reason, That *the Court would have had a Majority, and he might be allow'd to give the Queen a Compliment, it being to no Purpose to strive any longer.* Surely *Duke Hamilton* knew the Sense of the *Scots Nation* as well as *George Lockhart*, and yet every where in the *Memoirs* we find the *Faction* represented as the *Major Vote*, compos'd not only of Numbers but of Weight and Value, which indeed was equally true.

Whatever instigated *Duke Hamilton* to join in with the Whigs on this Occasion, whether 'twas to get himself to be nam'd a Commissioner by the Queen, as the Author of the *Memoirs* said; whether the Earl of *M——r* had accommodated the Matter with him on other Terms, by private Orders of the Court; or, whether it was really because he saw the Act wou'd go without him: 'Tis certain this was almost the only Step of his Life in which he fell in with the true Protestant Interest of his Country, and how long this Man of Honour, this Gallant, this Loyal Man, this Patriot, continu'd so, will appear by his Engagements with the *Jacobites* a Year after, to introduce Popery and Slavery with the Pretender. His coming over to the Union was a great Point gain'd, and 'tis owing in a great Measure to the wise Conduct of his Grace the Duke of *Argyle*, the

Lord High Commissioner, who having got Duke *Hamilton* to promise to facilitate the passing the Treaty-Act in the Manner which has been related, very generiously endeavour'd to have him nam'd one of the Commissioners; and when his Grace cou'd not prevail, such Offence had been taken at Duke *Hamilton's* incessant Zeal for the *Jacobite* Cause, he was pleas'd to declare, he had rather been out of the Commission himself, than act in it, if Duke *Hamilton* was not one of the Commissioners.

Before I name the Commissioners, let me observe, that after the *Memoir-Writer* has given us an Account of the passing of the *Treaty-Bill*, he acquaints us with the Character of Three worthy *Scotch Patriots*, the Earl of *E——l*, the Earl *M——l*, and Lord *B——o*. I shall only say a Word or Two of the Latter which will set us right also as to the Former. The Lord *B——o*, he tells us, would never take the Oaths to King *William* and Queen *Anne* till the Year 1704, and did it then only to prevent the settling the Crown on the Family of Hanover. He afterwards abjur'd the Pretender in order to prevent the *Protestant Succession*, and will be found with the two other Earls in the late Managers two doughty Lists of *Scots Peers*.

The same Methods as were us'd in *Scotland* to hinder the Treaty's taking Effect were practis'd by the *Faction* in *England*. They endeavour'd to have it obstructed as against the *English* Interest, and oppos'd every Step taken to accomplish it. They disputed every Inch of Ground.

And

And when it was propos'd in Parliament by Secretary *Harley* to repeal the Act which pass'd the Year before to make Aliens of the *Scots*, in order to prepare the way for the Treaty; Mr. *Bromley*, who had oppos'd that Bill because the *Scots Tories* were against it, now oppos'd the repealing it; because the *English Whigs* were for it to facilitate the Treaty. Thus did the Faction act *Pro* and *Con* just as it serv'd their Interests, and perplex the Government, which then was in Protestant Hands.

Notwithstanding all Obstructions, two Acts pass'd in *England* and *Scotland* to impower the Queen to nominate Commissioners for both Kingdoms to treat of a *Union*, whose Names are as follow.

SCOTS.

James Earl of *Seafield*,
Lord Chancellor.

James Duke of *Queens-*
bury, Lord Privy-
Seal.

John Earl of *Mar*, *Hugh*
Earl of *Loudoun*,
Secretaries of State.

John Earl of *Suther-*
land.

James Earl of *Morton*.

David Earl of *Wemb*.

David Earl of *Leven*.

John Earl of *Stair*.

Archi-

ENGLISH.

Thomas Archbishop of
Canterbury.

William *Cowper*, Esq,
Lord-Keeper.

John Archbishop of
York.

Sidney Lord *Godolphin*,
Lord High-Treasu-
rer.

Thomas Earl of *Pem-*
broke, Lord Presi-
dent of the Council.

John Duke of *New-*
castle Lord Privy-
Seal. *Willi-*

SCOTS.

Archibald Earl of *Roseberry*.
David Earl of *Glasgow*, Treasurer Dep.
Lord Archibald Campbell, Brother to the Duke of *Argyle*.
Thomas Lord Viscount *Duplin*.
William Lord *Ross*, one of the Commissioners of the Treasury.
Sir Hugh Dalrymple, Lord President of Session.
Adam Cockburn of *Ormistoun*, Lord Justice Clerk.
Sir Robert Dundas of *Armistoun*, one of the Senators of the College of Justice.
Mr. Robert Steuart of *Tullicultrie*, one of the Senators of the College of Justice.
Mr. Francis Montgomery, one of the Commissioners of the Treasury.

Sir

ENGLISH.

William Duke of *Devonshire*, Lord Steward of the Household.
Charles Duke of *Somerset*, Master of the Horse.
Charles Duke of *Bolton*.
Charles Earl of *Sunderland*.
Evelin Earl of *Kingston*.
Charles Earl of *Carlisle*.
Edward Earl of *Orford*.
Charles Lord Viscount *Townshend*.
Thomas Lord *Wharton*.
Ralph Lord *Grey*.
John Lord *Powlet*.
John Lord *Somers*.
Charles Lord *Hallifax*.
John Smith, Esq; Speaker of the House of Commons.
William Marquess of *Hartington*.
John Marquess of *Granby*.
Sir Charles Hedges, Knt.
Robert Harley, Esq; Secretaries of State.
Henr

SCOTS.

Sir *David Dalrimple*,
Sollicitor.

Sir *Alexander Ogilvie*
of *Forglen*, General-
Receiver.

Sir *Patrick Johnston*,
Lord-Provost of *E-*
dinburgh.

Sir *James Smallet* of
Bonhill.

Mr. *George Lockhart* of
Carnwarth.

William Morison of *Pre-*
ston-Grange.

Alexander Grant, jun.
of that *Ilk*.

William Seton, jun. of
Pitmedden.

John Clark, jun. of *Pen-*
nicook.

Hugh Montgomery, late
Provost of *Glasgow*.

Daniel Steuart, Brother
to the Lord of *Ca-*
stlemilk.

Daniel Campbel of *Ar-*
dintennie.

ENGLISH.

Henry Boyle, Chancel-
lor and Under-Trea-
surer of the Exche-
quer.

Sir *John Holt*, Knt.
Chief Justice of the
Court of Queens-
Bench.

Sir *Thomas Trevor*, Knt.
Chief Justice of the
Court of Common-
Pleas.

Sir *Edward Northey*,
Knt. Attorney-Ge-
neral.

Sir *Simon Harcourt*,
Knt. Sollicitor-Ge-
neral.

Sir *John Cook*, Dr. of
Laws, Advocate-Ge-
neral.

Stephen Waller Dr. of
Laws.

Of these the *Memoir-Writer* tells us, the Archbishop of *York* was put in against his Consent, and that *George Lockbart* of *Carnwarth* wou'd not act till he was put upon it by the Earl of *Hume*, the Earl of *Strathmore*, the Viscount of *Stormont*, Mr. *Cockran* of *Kilmarnock*, and Mr. *Henry Maul* of *Kelly*, by whom he was persuaded to be present at the Treaty to act as a Spy upon them, and give the *Jacobites* Intelligence of their Proceedings, that they might take their Measures to prevent their taking Effect. For which, and for no other Reason, says our Author, *Lockbart* consented to be one among them.

While they were treating at *London*, the *Cavaliers* were carrying on their Treasonable Contrivances to bring in their Popish Tyrannical King *James* the VIII. One *Hookes*, who had been a Fanatical Parson, and had serv'd the Duke of *Monmouth* as his Chaplain, escaping after the Rout at *Bridgwater* to *Holland*, went thence to *France*, turn'd Papist, and enter'd himself into the *French* King's Service who gave him a Commission, and he became a Colonel. The *Scots* being very uneasy concerning the Treatment they had met from *England*, talk'd more favourably than they had ever done of the *Impostor*; and his Friends giving Account to the *French* Court, that the *Pretender's* Interest was increas'd more than double to what it had been, especially on the Proposal of an Union, *Hookes*, who had been employ'd in a Message to the *Lancashire* Plotters, was now sent to the *Scots*.
He

He arriv'd at *Edinburgh*, 1705, and brought Letters from the *French King*, as our Author, P. 197. confesses, to the Duke of *Hamilton*, Earl *M——l*, Earl of *E——l*, Earl of *H——me*, &c. Pray read the Two Lists of the late Managers Sixteen Peers, and compare them with this. The Contents of these Letters were chiefly to invite them to send an Agent over to *France*, one fully to treat and conclude with the *French Court* about restoring their King. This Traytor *Hookes* was at several Meetings of the *Cavaliers*, who told him, *They were willing to do every Thing that could in Reason be demanded of them for advancing the King's Service*; and would send an Agent to *France*; which they did not long after, one Capt. *Henry Stratton*, *A Man of Honour*, says the *Memoir-Writer*, and *Honesty*, who had undertaken a Commission to betray his Free and Protestant Country to a Popish Despotick Prince. This *Stratton* would not stir till *Lockhart* came from *London*, and had given him an Account of what pass'd there with reference to the Treaty, upon which he set sail for *France*. *Lockhart* did not only discover the Secrets of the Commission for a Treaty, but was employ'd to pump the *Tories*, to see how they stood affected to the Pretender, and accordingly he conferr'd with the Duke of *Leeds* and the Lord *Granvill*, who if the *Memoir-Writer* does not bely them declar'd their Sentiments, *that nothing should be done during Queen Anne's Life*, P. 200. *Stratton* was told this, and having given the Pretender the

Character

Character in Writing of every Member of the *Scots* Parliament, he return'd to *Scotland* with fair Promises only of Assistance from the *French* King when he cou'd afford it, but at present he was so beaten about by the Victories of the Duke of *Marlborough* that he could do nothing for them. However, Letters of Encouragement were sent to the Duke of *Hamilton*, Earl of *E——l*, Earl *M——l*, Viscount of *S——t*, Duke of *A——*. The Last of 'em is said to have receiv'd his Letter very kindly. I beg the Reader to turn to the Lists of the twice Sixteen Peers sent for from *Scotland* by *Harl——y*, and the late Managers, and again compare them with this. The Visc——t of *S——t* had a Letter inclos'd in his for the Marquess of *Montrose*, but the Author of the *Memoirs* acquaints us that he was afraid to deliver it, knowing his Lordship's Zeal for the *Protestant-Succession*, the *Liberty* and *Religion* of his Country, in opposition to *French Idolatry* and *Slavery*.

Notwithstanding what has been said to prove the *Protestants* were much more than equal in Number to the *Papists* and *Tories* in *Scotland*, and that Duke *Hamilton* confess'd the *Whigs* wou'd carry the *Treaty* in spite of 'em; yet does our Honest Author brag again that the *Jacobites* were Four Parts in Five of the Nobility and Gentry, and much more than half of the Commons; than which never Mortal told a more impudent Falshood, as has been prov'd already in the foregoing Pages, and is now fully prov'd by the unanimous Elections of Protestant Lords and

and Commons in *Scotland* for the present Parliament, the first of King *GEORGE*.

When the Commissioners met the 2d time on the 22d of *April*, 1706. there were Four Preliminary Articles agreed upon ; the Fourth of which was, *That all the Proceedings of the Commissioners of both Kingdoms be kept secret.* How *George Lockhart* observ'd this Agreement, by telling them as the *Memoirs* tell us, to *Stratton*, for him to tell the *Pretender*, has been already shown. Here is a Part acted by a *Briton* and a *Protestant*, if the Actor of such a Part, a Creature of *Harl—y's*, *St. J—n's*, and *H—t's* cou'd deserve the Name of a *Protestant* and *Briton*. I shall not repeat the general Articles of the Union, and the Debates which rose upon them ; but only touch upon such Passages as have particular Relation to the Designs of the *Jacobite* Faction in opposing the Union, and will expose the Falshood and treasonable Purpose of the *Memoir-Writer*. The Pretence that the *Scots* Commissioners betray'd the Liberty of their Country, in agreeing to an incorporating Union, is groundless ; the *English* were as free as the *Scots* ; and there is not one Law that secur'd the Liberties of the Subjects in *Scotland*, which is abrogated by the Union. The Dependency of *Scotland* upon *England* since the Union, is really less than it was before ; she is not now a Dependant but a Partner, not a Neighbour but a Sister, all Superiority is lost, and all Difference of Interests. What has *England* gain'd by it, but a Blessing for *Scotland*, the Protestant
Suc-

Succession in *Great-Britain*? And what wou'd the *Scots* have been the better for an *Independency*, which cou'd not be maintain'd but by a *French* Power? If by *Independency* is meant what the *Cavaliers* always understood by the Phrase, a *Popish* King of their own. Be it as it will, I shall not enter into the Argument here. I wou'd say nothing invidious of a People, whom I love for their *Zeal* for the *Protestant-Religion*, and *Liberty*; and 'tis of those only whose *Zeal* was mistaken that I can say a hard Thing, or bear a hard Thing to be said.

The *Memoir-Writer* represents the whole Progress of the Treaty as a Combination between the *English* and *Scotch* Commissioners; and yet cou'd any Thing be carry'd on with more Solemnity, more Order, and more Impartiality? He gives an Instance of this Juggle in the Debate about the *Scots* Representatives; alledging, that tho' the *English* made as if they wou'd not agree to above 38 Commoners, and equal Proportion of Peers, yet to his certain knowledge, the *English* did design from the beginning to give the *Scots* 45 Commoners, P. 211. Thus he must be a Commissioner himself, or his Knowledge wou'd not be certain, and therefore it is that L—— of C—— is justly suspected to be the *Author* or *Contriver* of this False and Traiterous Treatise. What Reason had the *Scots* to expect so many as 45 Members? There was no better way to calculate the Number of their Representatives than by the Proportion of their Taxes.

'Twas

'Twas just, that if they subjected their Property to the Power of the *British* Parliament, they shou'd be represented by as many Members as was their Proportion of their Payments to that of the *English*. Now the *English* paid 1997000, and the *Scots* but 48000, so that their Proportion being but one Fortieth Part, 13 Members would answer it. But then the *English* in reason ought to consider the Proportion of the Number of People ; and the *Scots* being about Two Millions, and the *English* about Six Millions, the Proportion wou'd rise to 170 Members ; which being as unreasonable on one Hand, as the 13 wou'd have been on the other ; these Two Extreams met in the Number of 45, the Weight of the Money bearing heavier than the Weight of the People.

The *Memoir-Writer* says, he doubts not, had the *Scotch* Commissioners stood their Ground, the *English* wou'd have allow'd the *Scots* to have come off almost *Tax-Free* they wou'd have had a much greater abatement of Taxes, tho' the 48000^l does not amount to 6 Pence a Head ; and if they wou'd pay any Thing towards the Publick Expence they cou'd not well pay less. The *English*, continues he, saw too plainly the Advantage that would accrue to England by an Union of the Two Kingdoms upon this Scheme, and would never have stuck at any Terms to obtain it. What mighty Advantage has accru'd, or cou'd accrue to us by an Union, which was not for the Interest of the *Scots* to comply with ? Did we not purchase their Incorporation at the

N

Charge

Charge of 400000*l.* in an Equivalent, and half as much in Expences, which is as good as 35000*l.* a Year for ever ? But that's gone and over. And the Peace of the Two Nations had been a cheap Bargain at ten times the Sum.

Before I proceed with my Examination of our Author's Discourse upon the Union, I must observe, how fair he is in his Character of the Earl of *Home*, whom he highly extolls, P. 215, for having been ever faithful to the Abdicated King and his pretended Son ; and for his *unbiassable Honesty and Integrity*. He had sat in several Parliaments, and taken the Revolutionary Oaths ; yet with all his *Integrity and Honesty* he did not stick at *Perjury* for the Service of *Popery and Slavery*. You see what Complexion this Man's Men of Honour are of, and will judge of them accordingly.

The Commission of the *Kirk* Assembly, as he informs us, address'd against the Union till their Religion was secur'd to them by a particular Act of Parliament. Had they not Reason to be uneasy before, and as good Reason to be Easy after ? 'Twas very remarkable, that when this Matter was started, the *Episcopalian Jacobites* pleaded heartily for the *Presbyterians* ; and the *Faction* labour'd mightily to have the Commissions *Address* turn'd into a *Protest* ; but the Assembly who were against a Union only on Account of *Presbytery*, when that was secur'd, no longer oppos'd it, or so coolly that the Parliament did not regard their Opposition. And when the *Address* it self was propos'd, the Earls of *Rothes* and *Marchmont*,

Marchmont, the Lords *Polwartb* and *Forglen* leading Members, Sir *James Campbel*, the Lairds of *Ferwiswood* and *Arkinglass*, with several other Gentlemen, *Ruling Elders*, enter'd their *Protest* against it.

All the Hopes of the *Faction* lay in the Rabble, whom they had sufficiently poyson'd all over the Nation. And when the Parliament had the Union in Debate, the Duke of *Hamilton* affecting Lameness was carry'd to and from the House in a Chair, to have the better Opportunity to salute and spirit up the Populace. This Parade was imitated afterwards by *Sacheverel* in *England*. The Mob inflam'd, and the Cry of the *Church*, did the same Business here, as the Clamour against the *Union* did in *Scotland*, both alike promoting the Interests of the *Pretender*. The Lord High Commissioner was insulted in his Coach not only with *Railings* and *Curses*, but Dirt and Stones. Sir *Patrick Johnston's* House was broken up, and the Multitude threaten'd to *De-Wit* him and all the *Treaters*. The *Faction* call'd this Rascally Riotous Rabble the *Sense of the Nation*; and notwithstanding the Mischiefs the Mob had done, and declar'd they wou'd do, when the Lord High Commissioner procur'd a Detachment of Horse and Foot Guards to defend the Parliament; and with the Consent of the Provost of *Edinburgh* some of the standing Forces march'd into that City to secure the Peace; the *Jacobites* and *Tories* exclaim'd against it as a Breach of their Privilege, and were very clamorous to have the Guards

and Soldiers dismist, that the Parliament and City might be left at the Mercy of the Multitude. When a Vote for Approval of what had been done for their Defence was carry'd, the Disaffected Party protested against it. The Names of the Protestors are in this

LIST of the Scots Disaffected Lords and Commons, who protested against permitting Guards to defend the Parliament when they were insulted by the Rabble about the Union, in 1706.

L O R D S.

Duke of Hamilton.		Lord Semple.
Duke of Athole.		Lord Oliphant.
Earl Mareschal.		Lord Balmerino.
Earl of Wigtoun.		Lord Blantyre.
Earl of Errol.		Lord Bargany.
Earl of Strathmore.		Lord Beilhaven.
Earl of Kincardin.		Lord Colvil.
Viscount Stormount.		Lord Duffus.
Viscount Kelsyth.		Lord Kinnard.

K N I G H T S of Shires.

George Lockhart of Carnwarth.		William Cockran of Kilmaronock.
Sir James Foulis of Colintoun.		John Stuart of Kilgumlock.
John Brisbane of Bishoptoun.		James Graham of Bucklivy.
Will-		John

KNIGHTS of Shires.

John Graham of Killearn.	Patrick Lyon of Auchterhouse.
Robert Rollo of Powhouse.	David Graham of Fintr.
Sir Patrick Murray of Auchteetyre.	James Ogilvie of Boyn.
Alexander Gordon of Pitlurg.	Alexander Migglie of Palgown.
James Muire of Stonny-wood.	James Dunbar of Hempings.
	George Mackenzie of Inchcoulter.

BURGESSES.

Alexander Robertson.	John Lyon.
Alexander Adgai.	John Carruthers.
Alexander Duff.	George Home.
Francis Matison.	James Bethune.
Robert Kelly.	John Blaire.
Archibald Sheiles.	Robert Frazer.

If the Reader will always remember to have immediate Recourse from these *Lists*, to the Two subjoyn'd *Lists* of the Members of Parliament for *North-Britain* in the Two last Parliaments, he will see how safe the *Protestant Succession* was like to be in the Hands of such *Managers*.

I will not quarrel with the Author of the *Memoirs* about his Character of *Daniel Foe*, whom

he calls a *vile Monster*, and *Wretch*, a *Mercenary Tool*, and *Trumpeter of Rebellion*. I think the greatest Scandal to the *Union* is, that such a Creature shou'd be at all concern'd in it; but his Master *Har—y*, who sent him to *Edinburgh* as his *Spye*, himself being then Secretary of State, cou'd not in *Great-Britain* have pick'd out a Man more like himself, a *Pratender to Business*, and *Books*, a *Dissembler*, a *Trickster*, a *Renegade* to the Party he was born and bred among, of no Credit nor Character, fit for any Drudgery, and full of Hypocrisy and Conceit.

Foe was like to have been ston'd by the Rabble when they assaulted Sir *Patrick Johnston's* House. From that time he stuck close to his Master the late *Treat—r*, and continu'd to receive Money from him, even after he was turn'd out from being *Secretary*. He endeavour'd to have his Pension continu'd also by one of the Old Ministers when he was displac'd, and at the same time that his Patron *Har—y* paid him. He wrote a Letter to that Noble Lord, signifying, that tho' he seem'd to turn his Pen to the other Side 'twas only in order to make his Vindication of his Lordship the more effectual by putting it into the Hands of the Enemy. But that Trick not succeeding he gave himself Body and Soul to the late Managers, and said and did for them whatever they would have him. He was a *Whig*, as much as he can be any Thing, when he was sent by the Secretary to *Scotland*; yet I shall make little or no Use of what he says in his *History of the Union*. Such a

Heap of Fustian and Confusion as never was Bound together before.

One wou'd think by the *Airs* the *Scotch Jacobites* gave themselves, that they were the very Substance of the *Scotch Nation*. When the Duke of *Argyle*, and the Earl of *Marchmont*, said something in opposition to the Tumultuous Addresses sent up from several Burghs to influence the Parliament ; and the Latter was against reading of them , Sir *James Foulis* of *Colington* said, *If the Addresses were not receiv'd from those Members that were entrusted with them, he did not doubt but those that subscrib'd them would come and own them at the Door of the House.* And yet when the Gentlemen of *Kent* presented a Petition to the Parliament of *England* on an Affair much more reasonable, and for the Common Interest of *Great-Britain*, the *English Tories*, much such another Party, as the *Scotch Cavaliers*, cry'd out against it as a Breach of Privilege, and an intolerable Insult on the Representative. Accordingly the Party then the Major Vote , censur'd it as *Scandalous, Insolent, and Seditious, tending to destroy the Constitution of Parliament* ; and amongst the rest we find *John Granville, Esq; William Bromley, Esq; Francis Gwyn, Esq; &c.* voting against better Gentlemen than themselves for Principles and Fortune, and for sending them to Goal for Petitioning in a much more mannerly and submissive way than the *Scotch Burghs* address'd their Parliament; for which the Au-

thor of the *Memoirs* so highly extolls their Courage and Wisdom.

If the Reader is not before now convinc'd of Duke *Hamilton's* good Will to the *Protestant Succession*, and the great Service he would have done it in his *French* Embassy, which the late Managers employ'd him about; let him read that Protestant Duke's Speech, just before the *Scots* Parliament agreed to the First Article of the Treaty of Union; in which the *Scots* Crown was, after the Demise of the Queen, settled on the House of *Hanover*. *What, says he, shall we in Half an Hour yield what our Forefathers maintain'd with their Lives and Fortunes for many Ages? Are none of the Descendants here of those worthy Patriots, who defended the Liberty of their Country against all Invaders, who assisted the great King Robert Bruce to restore the Constitution, and revenge the Falshood of England, and Usurpation of Baliol. Where are the Douglasses, and the Campbells? Where are the Peers, where are the Barons, once the Bulwark of the Nation?*

I repeat this to shew how this *Master of our Ordnance* was animated, by his Zeal for the Impostor: Duke *Hamilton* was never allow'd to have a Genius for Speaking, and here see how he Exaggerates, how he Labours in the Cause of *Jacobitism*; no doubt such a Minister would have done Wonders in *France* for the Security of the Protestant-Succession; This Speech, tho' the

the *Memoir-Writer* tells us, it made Folks Cry, yet it did not it seems convince them, that Popery and Slavery would make amends for what they should lose, by not uniting with a Rich, Powerful, and Protestant Kingdom. There needs no more Arguments, nor Instances, to prove that the *Jacobites* were at the Bottom of all the Opposition the Union met with; and yet, had it not been for them, it would have gone on as smoothly in *Scotland* as it did in *England*. However, I shall repeat Five or Six Lines out of a Treatise, written by a Person who was an Eye-Witness of the Proceedings in *Scotland*. He is speaking of Rabbles rais'd to terrify the Well-wishers to the Union in and out of Parliament.

“ Nothing is more certain, *says he*, than that the
 “ Tumults had their Rise and Beginning among
 “ the *Jacobite* Party. In all the Rabbles and
 “ Riots they were safe as they pass the Streets;
 “ they were caress'd by the Mob; they Huzza'd
 “ them to the Work; their Houses were never
 “ search'd for Arms, nor the least Insults offer'd
 “ to their Persons: The very Leaders of
 “ the Rabble were of their Party; and indeed,
 “ their Friends mixt themselves with the Rab-
 “ ble on all Occasions, to prompt them to In-
 “ sult the Citizens”. And the *Memoirs* tell us, *p.* 225. the Chiefs of them encourag'd and hurried them out. One of the most Busy among them was *Hinlay*, who headed the Mob in a Riot, and was imprison'd, not for the Riot, but for Stealing a Musket; it being observable that these

these *Scots Jacobite* Rioters, like the *Tory* Rioters of *Bristol*, never left a House before they had Plunder'd it.

The tumultuous Rabble having done little more Harm than what was occasion'd by the Fright they put People into ; and being themselves terrify'd in their Turn, with the gathering of Troops together, both in *Scotland*, and on the Borders of *England*, the Parliament proceeded in the Affair of the Union with more Calmness; and after the First Vote, which included the Settlement of the Succession in the House of *Hanover* was carry'd, the other Articles went down a great deal more glibly. The *Jacobites* having lost their main Question, made a much fainter Struggle for those they call'd the *Liberty of their Country, their Independency, and Trade*. The Author of the *Memoirs* informs us, That the *Cavalier-Party*, who valu'd themselves mightily upon Standing up for the *Scots* Interests, demanded before the Question was put to agree to the First Article, That the Names of the Members who voted *for* and *against* it might be Printed, and 'twas carry'd in the *Affirmative*; he accordingly prints a List of the *Negatives* to the *Hanover-Succession*, and not doubting but the *Affirmatives* will Glory much more in being remember'd on this Occasion, I shall give

A LIST

A LIST of those Noble Scots Pa-
triot's who voted for the Protestant-
Succession in the First Article of the
UNION.

L O R D S.

The Earl of Seafield,
Lord-Chancellor.

Marquis of Montrose,
L. P. C.

Duke of Argyle.

Marquis of Tweeddale.

Marquis of Lothian.

Earl of Mar, Secretary.

Earl of Loudon, Secre-
tary.

Earl of Crawford.

Earl of Sutherland.

Earl of Rothes.

Earl of Mortoun.

Earl of Eglington.

Earl of Roxburgh.

Earl of Haddingtoun.

Earl of Galloway.

Earl of Weymes.

Earl of Dalhousie.

Earl of Leven.

Earl of Northesk.

Earl of Bellcarras.

Earl of Forfar.

Earl of Kilmarnock.

Earl of Kintore.

Earl of Dummore.

Earl of Marchmont.

Earl of Hyndfoord.

Earl of Cromarty.

Earl of Stair.

Earl of Roseherry.

Earl of Glasgow, Thef.
Dep.

Earl of Hoptoun.

Earl of Delorain.

Earl of Ilay.

Viscount Duplin.

Viscount Garnock.

Lord Forbes.

Lord Elphinstoun.

Lord Ross.

Lord Torpichen.

Lord Frazer.

Lord Bamff.

Lord Elibank.

Lord Duffus.

Lord Rollo.

Lord

Lord Justice Register.
Lord Justice Clerk.

KNIGHTS of the
Shires.

Sir Robert Dickson of
Inverask.

William Nesbet of Dir-
letoun.

John Cockburn, Jun. of
Ormistoun.

Sir John Swintoun of
that Ilk.

Sir Alexander Campel
of Cefnock.

Sir William Ker of
Greenhead.

Archibald Douglass of
Cavers.

William Bennet of
Grubbet.

John Murray of Bow-
hill.

John Pringle of Hai-
ning.

William Morison of
Prestoun-Grange.

George Bailie of Fer-
viswoode.

Sir John Johnstoun of
Westerhat.

William Douglass of
Dornock.

William Steuart of Ca-
stle-Steuart.

John Steuart of Sorbie.

Francis Montgomery of
Wrae.

John Hadden of Gle-
nagies.

Mungo Grahame of
Gorthy.

Sir Thomas Burnet of
Leyes.

William Seton, Jun. of
Pitmedden.

Alexander Grant, Jun.
of that Ilk.

Sir Kenneth Mackenzie.
Æneas Mackleod of
Catboul.

John Campbel of Mam-
more.

Sir James Campbel of
Auchinbrecke.

James Campbel, Jun.
of Ardkinglass.

Sir William Anstruther
of that Ilk.

James Halyburton of
Pitcurr.

Alexander Abercrombie
of Glassoch.

William

<i>William Maxwel of</i>	<i>Sir James Smollet.</i>
<i>Cardinefs.</i>	<i>William Carmichael.</i>
<i>James Dumbar, Jun.</i>	<i>Daniel Mackleod.</i>
<i>of Hemprigs.</i>	<i>Sir David Dalrymple.</i>
<i>John Bruce of Kinross.</i>	<i>Sir Alexander Ogilvie.</i>
	<i>John Clerk.</i>
BURGESSES.	<i>John Rofs.</i>
	<i>Sir Hugh Dalrymple.</i>
<i>Sir Patrick Johnstoun.</i>	<i>Patrick Ogilvie.</i>
<i>John Scrymsour.</i>	<i>George Allardice.</i>
<i>Coll. Areskin.</i>	<i>William Alvis.</i>
<i>John Muir.</i>	<i>Roderick Mackenzie.</i>
<i>John Scot.</i>	<i>John Urquhart.</i>
<i>Patrick Bruce.</i>	<i>Sir James Stewart.</i>
<i>Sir John Areskin.</i>	<i>Daniel Campbel.</i>
<i>James Spittle.</i>	<i>Sir Robert Forbes.</i>
<i>Patrick Moncrieffe.</i>	<i>Robert Douglass.</i>
<i>George Monro.</i>	<i>Alexander Maitland.</i>
<i>Sir Andrew Home.</i>	<i>George Dalrymple.</i>
<i>William Coltran.</i>	<i>Charles Campbell.</i>
<i>Sir Peter Halket.</i>	

The *Memoir-Writer's* List of the Lords *Negatives* being very Imperfect, and wanting the Names of near Thirty of those that voted against the Union, I shall give it entire, and desire the Reader would separate Mr. *Fletcher* of *Saltoun* from the rest, he being carry'd away by a mistaken Zeal for Liberty, and not with any *Cavalier* Design.

*A LIST of the Members of the
Scot's Parliament who voted against
the Protestant-Succession in the First
Article of the Union.*

LORDS.

** Duke of Hamilton †.
** Duke of Athole †.
Marquis of Annandale.
** Earl of Errol †.
** Earl Marischal †.
Earl of Buchan.
Earl of Glencairn.
* Earl of Wigton †.
** Earl of Strathmore.
Earl of Selkirk †.
Earl of Kincardin.
* Viscount Stormount †.
* Viscount Kilsyth †.
** Lord Semple.
** Lord Oliphant †.
** Lord Balmerino †.
** Lord Blantyre †.
** Lord Bargany †.
Lord Belhaven †.
** Lord Colvil †.
** Lord Kinnaird †.

*KNIGHTS of the
Shires.*

** George Lockhart of
Carnwarth †.
*Sir James Foulis of Co-
lington †.*
** Andrew Fletcher of
Saltoun.
*Sir Robert Sinclair of
Longformacus.*
*Sir Patrick Home of
Rentoun †.*
*Sir Gilbert Eliot of
Minto.*
*William Baille of La-
mingtoun †.*
*John Sinclair Jun. of
Stevenfon †.*
*John Sharp of Hod-
dun.*
** Alexander Ferguson
of Isle †.
** John Brisbane of
Bishoptoun †.
** William

** William Cockran of
Kilmarnock †.

Sir Humphrey Colqu-
houn of Lufs.

Sir John Henstoun of
that Ilk †.

* John Grahame of
Killairn.

** James Graham of
Bucklyvie †.

Thomas Sharp of Hou-
stoun.

Sir Patrick Murray of
Aucktertyre †.

John Murray of Stro-
wan †.

Sir David Ramsay of
Balmain.

Alexander Gordon of
Pitlurg †.

** James Muir of Sto-
niewood.

* John Forbes of Col-
loden †.

* David Bethune of
Balfour †.

** Thomas Hope of
Rankeiller †.

** Patrick Lyon of
Auchterhouse †.

** James Carnagie of
Phinhaven †.

** James Ogilvie, Jun.
of Boyherd.

Alexander Malgie of
Palgoun †.

Sir Henry Innes, Jun.
of that Ilk †.

Alexander Douglas of
Eagleshaw.

** George Mackenzie
of Inhoultter †.

BURGESSSES.

Robert Inglis.

Alexander Robertson †.

Walter Stewart †.

Alexander Watson †.

Hugh Montgomery.

** Alexander Edgar.

John Black.

** James Oswald †.

Robert Johnstoun.

* Alexander Duff †.

** Francis Molison †.

Walter Scot.

* George Smith.

** Robert Scot.

** Robert Kellie †.

** John Hutcheson.

William Sutherland.

** Archibald Sheils †.

** John Lyon †.

Dougal

Dougal Steuart.	** John Carruthers †.
George Brodie.	** George Home †.
George Spence.	James Bethun.
Sir David Cuning-	** John Bayne †.
hame †.	** Robert Frazer.
William Johnstoun.	

By these Lists it appears there were

45 Lords.
36 Knights of the Shires.
33 Burgesses.

In all 114 Members for the *Protestant Succession*.

— AND —

21 Lords.
32 Knights of the Shires.
29 Burgesses.

In all 82 Members against the *Union and Protestant Succession*.

I say the *Union and Protestant Succession*, because the Marquis of *Annandale*, Sir *Gilbert Elliot*, and some others of these Members, have been very Zealous for the House of *Hanover*, tho' they were not for the *Union*; but the far greater Number were of Duke *Hamilton's* Party, and who they were for, I have shewn sufficiently already.

Those

Those mark'd with one Star protested also against the second Article of the *Union*, together with *David Grabame* of *Fintre*, and *J. Sinclair* of *Stenifter*; those with two Stars did the same to the third Article, together with the Marquis of *Annandale*, Earl of *Selkirk*, Lord *Salton*, Lord *Belhaven*, Sir *James Foulis*, Sir *J. Lauder*, Sir *Robert Sinclair*, *R. Rollo* of *Powhouse*, *J. Murray* of *Strowan*, *H. Balfour* of *Dumbrog*, *David Graham* of *Fintre*, *A. Mackenzie* of *Palgowan*, *A. Robertson*, *Walter Stewart*, *A. Watson*; of these Mr. *Brisbane* of *Bishopstoun* enter'd in a Conspiracy with one Major *Cuninghame*, to raise a Rebellion in the *Western Shires*, if the *Memoir-Writer* knew any Thing of the Matter; and what was it for; to prevent the *Union*? No, he tells us P. 280. to raise the *Parliament*, and declare for King *James*. And *Brisbane* having communicated the Matter to two other of the Protestors, *Cockran* of *Kilmarnock*, and *Lockhart* of *Carnwarth*; our Author adds, *They desir'd him to encourage Cuninghame to persevere in his Design; they advanc'd him Fifty Guineas, and gave him Assurance, if any Misfortune befel him, his Wife and Children should be taken Care of, and provided for.* This Plot was communicated also to Duke *Hamilton* by *Cockran* of *Kilmarnock*; and, says my Author, *the Duke seem'd to approve the Measures.* *Lockhart* told it to *Murray* of *Strowan*, another Protestor, and he acquainted the Duke of *A——* with it, who, continues the

Memoir-Writer, promis'd to cause his *Highlanders* to secure the Pass of Stirling, and open a Communication between the Western and Northern Parts; he frankly undertook it, and seem'd very keen to have the Project executed. All these Men were Confidants of the Late Ministers; Queen ANNE was then living, and the Design was to declare for King James before Her Death; the Author of the *Memoirs* assures us, he was in the Secret: This Conspiracy was deconcerted by the Timorousness of Duke Hamilton, who was afraid of his Estate in England; and privately gave Counter Orders to those he entrusted Cuninghame with, to raise his Vassals.

We shall see, that he more than once baulk'd the *Cavaliers*, just as they were on the Point of executing some treasonable Project; but not out of any Reluctance to the Cause, which he espous'd frequently afterwards. 'Tis thought he had conceiv'd Hopes of having his past Opposition forgotten, and of being One of the first Sixteen *Scots* Peers sent to the Parliament of *Great-Britain*; in which he was disappointed; the Ministry was then in honest Hands, and the Whigs would not Trust him.

Some pretended he did not oppose the Union, for the Pretender's Interest, but his own, having himself a Sort of a Title; which was a vain Chimera; for surely the Descendants of King James the 1st have a *Prior* Right to the Family of *Hamilton*: And when he found he could not hinder the Settling of the Succession on the *Ha-*

nover Line, he himself propos'd that Settlement, as the best Means to prevent the *Union*. After which the *Jacobtes* fell off from him, suspected his Sincerity, and never put entire Confidence in him again, 'till he had given New Proofs of his Disaffection to the Government.

The Lord *Belhaven* made a long Speech to the same Purpose, and with the same View, which did not succeed; for the *Cavaliers* declar'd, that if the Crown was given away from their Young Master, they car'd not what became of the *Union*: Thus was the Country Party divided into Two, *Protestant* and *Popish*, and the Loyal Party got Vigor and Courage by their Division.

The *Cavaliers* finding they could make nothing of their Mobs; set an Example to their Brethren, the *English Tories*, of perplexing the State with Addresses; and great Numbers were sent up to Parliament, from Cities, Towns, Villages, and even Hamlets, to make the greater Noise. These Addresses were procur'd by Misrepresentations, and some say by Money; and not having the Effect intended, the Faction resolv'd to gather together all the Disaffected Gentlemen from all Parts of the Kingdom, and in a Body attend the Lord High-Commissioner with an Insolent Address against the *Union*; the Duke of *A*—— was the Author of this Project; and Mr. *Henry Maul*, Brother to the Earl of *Pammure*, who, if he was not a *Nonjurbr*, was a staunch *Jacobite*, undertook to Head these

O 2

Addressers.

Addressers. Duke *Hamilton* at first relish'd and recommended the Design, and Letters were dispatch'd to the several *Counties* to summon the *Anti-Unioners* to *Edinburgh*. It was now that the Duke began to Trim a little, he insisting upon it, that an Offer of Settling the Crown on the *Hanover* Line, should be incerted in the Address to please the *English*, and effectually hinder the *Union*: This Offer however was always made by them with Reserves of such Limitations as they hop'd would never be agreed to by the Queen. Duke *Hamilton* gave for Reason, that unless some such Offer was made, their *Friends* the *Tories* in *England* could not have the Face to oppose the *Union*, which he expected they would do. The *Jacobites* could not carry their Matters so privately, but that the Lord Commissioner had Intelligence of the Letters they sent about the Country, inviting the *Anti-Union* Gentry to *Edinburgh*; and the Lord Chancellor acquainting the Parliament with it, a Motion was made the 27th of *December* 1706, for a Proclamation against all Meetings and Gatherings of Subscribers to the intended Address, as unwarrantable and contrair to Law. This the *Jacobites* oppos'd, and having lost the Question, protested, as they had done already, *George Lockhart* of *Carnwarth*, being at the Head of them. I do not print a List of their Names separately, having crowd'd this Book too much with *Scots* Lists already; but the Reader may distinguish these Protestors in the last List by this Mark †; to which add the Marquis of *Anandale*,

nandale, Fletcher of Saltoun, John Lauder of Fountainhal, Major Henry Balfour of Dunbrog, David Grabame of Fintre, James Sinclair of Stenister Robert Rollo of Powhouse, and Sir Robert Anstruther; and the List of the *Protestors* against this Proclamation is compleat; this was a great Trial of Skill, and one of the last dying Struggles of the Party.

The *YEAS* were 42 Lords.
 37 Knights of the Shires.
 33 Burgessees.

In all 112 Members.

The *NOES* were 17 Lords.
 29 Knights of the Shires.
 16 Burgessees.

In all 62 Members.

By which it appears that the Members for the *Union* were almost Two to One in Number to those against it; and the Names of the *Pro's* and *Con's* were Printed by Order of Parliament, both Sides glorying in their *Votes*.

Duke *Hamilton*, to gain the Ground he had lost with the *Cavaliers*, had a Meeting, to consult how to give a last and general Shock to the *Union*. At this Meeting assisted

Duke <i>Hamilton</i> .		<i>James Ogilvie</i> of <i>Boyn</i> .
Duke of <i>A——</i> .		<i>Patrick Lyon</i> of <i>Auch-</i> <i>terhouse</i> .
Earl of <i>Errol</i> .		
Earl <i>Marischal</i> .		Earl of <i>P——r</i> .
Earl of <i>Wigtoun</i> .		Lord <i>N——n</i> .
Viscount <i>Stormont</i> .		Mr. <i>Henry Maul</i> .
Viscount <i>Kilsybe</i> .		Mr. <i>James Grabame</i> ,
<i>George Lockbart</i> of <i>Carnwarth</i> .		Sollicitor to the late King <i>James</i> .

Of these the Earl of *P——r*, and Lord *N——n*, had never taken the Oaths, and were therefore the more excusable in meeting with this Black Cabal; form'd to throw their Country into the last Confusion. The Design being to subscribe a General Protest against the *Union*; to deliver it in a Body of all the Subscribers, Members of the Parliament; and that those Members should immediately desert the House, as disowning them, and their Proceedings. Here the Duke of *A——* insisted upon it, that the Clause of the *Hanover* Succession should by no means be admitted; which however the *Major Part* agreed to, only to *Wheedle*, as some said; and others, to confound the *English*. But the Duke of *Hamilton* began this Business himself, yet when it came to the Trial, and the Day appointed for the Presenting of the Address came, he pretended to be seiz'd with a Fit of the *Tooth-Ach*, and could not go to Parliament; upon which several of the Addressers repair'd to him, and represented, that he would get the
Character

Character of as great a *Trickster* as his Grandfather was, if he disappointed them again: At last he was prevail'd upon to go; but when he was there, could not be perswaded to present the Address himself; and no Body else car'd to undertake a Thing, that he, a Man of the greatest Interest and Quality among them, durst not venture upon. The Temper of the *Scots* was now so far chang'd, that the *Addressers*, as the *Memoir-Writer* confesses himself, P. 324. got a good Number of Citizens to attend them to the Parliament, for fear they should be *maltreated as they went Home*. Had this Address been presented, the Author tells us, the Earl of S—d told him, the Ministry had resolv'd to *Prorogate the Parliament, and give over the Prosecution of the Union*. He adds, that the Reason Duke *Hamilton* chang'd his Mind, was his being afraid the whole Blame of the Loss of the *Union* would light upon him. And what might have been the Consequence of that to himself and his Family, could be no very pleasant Prospect.

I have avoided entring into the Debates of the Articles of the *Union*, they being well known already; and only have touch'd such Passages as either were not known, or serv'd to shew by what *Spirit* those that oppos'd it were acted. The Twenty Second *Article* relating to the *Scots* Representatives in the Parliament of *Great-Britain*, occasion'd very warm *Speeches* on both Sides, and more *Protests* than all the rest of the Articles. Some were for the Whole *Scots* Par-

liament's Sitting with the *English*; but that was a Scheme they would have been soon weary of; as indeed 'twas Unreasonable and Chimerical. All the Objections made to this Article, as to the Number of the *Scots* Representatives, were admirably well Answer'd by Mr. *Seton* of *Pitmedden*, Who declar'd it was above what Scotland ought to expect, and was a full Proportion.

Notwithstanding there were Six several Protests against this Article, yet does our Author affirm, it met *with little or no Opposition*. *George Lockhart* of *Carnwarth* appear'd foremost in *Protesting*, That the Article should not *Prejudice the Rights of the Knights of the Shires for their full Representation in Parliament*. The Duke of *A——e* protested in Behalf of both Lords and Commons, and with a long Train of Reasons, which had been confuted over and over again; particularly in Mr. *Seton's* Speech before mention'd. The Earl of *Buchan* protested against it, with Relation to the Peers only. Mr. *Walter Steuart* of *Pardouan*, with Relation to the Privileges of Peers, Knights, and Burgeses. The Earl of *Errol* protested with Relation to his Heretable Office of *High-Constable*; and the Earl *Mareschal* with Relation to his Heretable Office of *Mareschal of Scotland*. The *Jacobites* were for having the Four first Protests, *Lockhart's*, *A——'s*, *B——n's*, and *Steuart's*, Printed and Publish'd with their Names; which being debated, the Earl of *Marchmont* gave in a Protestation against the said Four Protests, which was

was adher'd to by many Lords, Knights, and Burgeſſes. But the next Day the Lord *Balmorino* gave in a *Proteſtation* againſt the Earl of *Marchmont's*.

For the PROTESTS, againſt the Article about the Scotch Representatives.

Earl of <i>Seafield</i> , Lord Chancellor.	Lord <i>Forbes</i> .
Marqueſs of <i>Montroſe</i> ,	Lord <i>Elphingſtoun</i> .
Preſ. of the Council.	Lord <i>Rofs</i> .
Duke of <i>Argyle</i> .	Lord <i>Torpichen</i> .
Marqueſs of <i>Tweddale</i> .	Lord <i>Fraſer</i> .
Marqueſs of <i>Lothian</i> .	Lord <i>Bamff</i> .
Earl of <i>Mar</i> , Earl of <i>Loudun</i> , Secretaries of State.	Lord <i>Rollo</i> .
Earl of <i>Sutherland</i> .	Lord Register.
Earl of <i>Rothſ</i> .	Lord Justice-Clerk.
Earl of <i>Mortoun</i> .	Sir <i>John Swinton</i> .
Earl of <i>Roxburgh</i> .	Sir <i>Alexander Campbel</i> .
Earl of <i>Dalhouſie</i> .	Sir <i>William Ker</i> .
Earl of <i>Findlater</i> .	<i>Archib. Douglaſs</i> , Eſq;
Earl of <i>Leven</i> .	<i>John Murray</i> , Eſq;
Earl of <i>Balcarras</i> .	<i>John Pringle</i> , Eſq;
Earl of <i>Forfar</i> .	<i>Alex. Abercrombe</i> , Eſq;
Earl of <i>Kintore</i> .	<i>William Seton</i> , Eſq;
Earl of <i>Hyndford</i> .	<i>Mungo Graham</i> , Eſq;
Earl of <i>Glaſgow</i> .	<i>William Morifon</i> , Eſq;
Earl of <i>Delorain</i> .	<i>George Baillie</i> , Eſq;
Earl of <i>Ila</i> .	<i>William Douglaſs</i> , Eſq;
	<i>Fran. Montgomery</i> , Eſq;
	<i>Alexander Grant</i> , Eſq;
	<i>John Campbel</i> , Eſq;
	Sir

<p>Sir James Campbel, Knt. James Campbel of Ar- kinglass, Esq; James Halyburton, Esq; Alex. Douglass, Esq; Sir Patrick Johnston. Collonel Areskine. John Muire, Esq; James Spittle, Esq; Sir Andrew Home. Will. Carmicheal, Esq;</p>	<p>Sir Alexander Ogilvie John Clark, Esq; Patrick Ogilvie, Esq; George Allardyce, Esq; James Bethun, Esq; Daniel Campbel, Esq; Robert Douglass, Esq; Alex. Maitland, Esq; Charles Campbel, Esq;</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">In all 64.</p>
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Against the P R O T E S T S.

<p>Duke Hamilton. Duke of Athole. Earl of Errol. Earl Marischal. Earl of Buchan. Earl of Eglintoun. Earl of Wigtoun. Earl of Galloway. Earl of Selkirk. Viscount Stormount. Viscount Kilsyth. Lord Semple. Lord Oliphant. Lord Blantyre. Lord Burgany. Lord Kinnaird. George Lockbart, Esq; Andrew Fletcher, Esq;</p>	<p>William Cockrain, Esq; Sir Hump. Colquhoun. Robert Rollo, Esq; John Murray, Esq; James Carnagie, Esq; David Grabame, Esq; Alexander Malgie, Esq; Alexander Edgar, Esq; Alexander Duff, Esq; Francis Molison, Esq; Archibald Shiels, Esq; John Lyon, Esq; John Carruthers, Esq; George Home, Esq; Robert Frazer, Esq;</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">In all 33.</p>
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This is the mighty Party which treated their Opponents as so many base Worthless Beggary People, themselves being the only Noble, Rich, and Numerous. My Author calls them the *Nine in Ten*, as the *Examiner* us'd to call the *English Tories*; with how much Truth may be seen by the present Representative in *England*. And these very Lists shew what Credit is to be given to the *Brags* of the *Scotch Jacobites*. The Reader will find at the end of this Treatise, the Names not only of the Thirty-Two Lords sent up to Parliament from *Scotland* during the late *Tory* Administration; but of the Commons also; and here he will meet with many of these *Anti-Unioners*, who were chosen to carry on the same Laudable Designs at *London* about the Peace, &c. as they carry'd on formerly at *Edinburgh* about the *Union*, &c. which I have said enough of in the preceding Pages.

I find but one Struggle and Protest more of the Party, and that was concerning the choice of the Forty-Five *Scotch* Members for the Parliament of *Great-Britain*. The *Cavaliers*, with an Intention still to puzzle Matters only, wou'd have had a new Choice by the Freeholders. The Ministers and Parliament were for chusing them out of the House then sitting; which being carry'd in the Affirmative, the Old *Protestors* reduc'd now to a very thin Squadron enter their Names against it. Those that were for it *were afraid*, says the *Memoir-Writer*, that the *Country* whom they had so displeas'd wou'd not chuse them. In saying which, he sins against Knowledge

ledge and Experience, for the Country did chuse the *Majority* out of their Number ; and tho' *Lockhart* of *Carnwarth* was sent up to *Westminster*, to abjure that *Pretender*, for whom the *Memoir* Author makes him so zealous ; yet the *Scots* Representatives have ever since the Union, except in the First Parliament under the late fatal Ministry, been for the most Part of the *Protestant* *Revolutional* Party.

The Writer of the *Memoirs*, after he has so falsely and maliciously as well as traiterously represented Facts, makes these Five wonderful Remarks on the *Act* of *Union* as so many Judgments attending it.

The *First* was, that the first Article of the *Act* pass'd on that sad Day the 4th of *November*, King *William's* Birth-Day.

The *Second*, That the Peerage Article was approv'd the 8th of *January*, which is false, 'twas the 7th of *January*, see *Minute* LIII. of this Parliament, the *Day*, as he says, on which the Warrant for the Execution of *Glenco* was sign'd, but in that he tells another notorious Falsity ; for the first Orders relating to that Business bore Date the 11th of *January*, 169⁵. In this Remark he adds a Third Untruth, which is, that *the Earl of Stairs* hang'd himself upon that Day. A Fourth Lye, a hard but just Term, must be added to it from *P. 96.* where he says, *that Earl and his Family were the most detested of any in the Kingdom.* For proof of the contrary to this, I shall repeat what a Person who was upon the Spot wrote on occasion of my Lord *Stair's* Death.

Death. *He had been an eminent Instrument in carrying on the Union, and had the very Day before he dy'd spoken very earnestly in the House upon some particular Cases relating to it; he went out of the House not very well, yet went home and wrote several Letters that very Night to England; and in the Morning dy'd in his Bed without being able to speak so much as to his Lady, who was with him, to the general Grief of the whole Island, being universally lamented.* What Opinion can one have of this Factious Author, who out of Hatred to the Principles of the Best and Noblest of his Countrymen so basely vilifies and belies them.

The *Third* Pious and Judicious Remark of this Author was, that the *Ratification of the Articles of the Union was upon the 16th, of the Date of the Sentence of the Royal Martyr King Charles the 1st.* What with the Day of opening this Tryal, the Days of continuing it, the Day of Sentence, the Days after it, the Day of Death, and 16 Days after it, here are almost Thirty good Days that nothing must be done upon, they are so ominous. But Seven Days after the Day of Martyrdom, there is indeed a very extraordinary Day: That of his Son King *Charles the 2d's* Death; that of his Son King *James the 2d's* Accession to the Throne; That of his Grand-Daughter Queen *Anne's* Birth; and within the 16 Days after comes another mortifying Day, that of the Proclamation of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, which was as evil a One to the
Faction

Faction as all the Days of the *Union* put together.

His *Fourth* Observation is a notable One ; that the *Scots* Parliament was dissolv'd on *Lady-Day*.

And the *Fifth*, That the Equivalent came to *Edinburgh* the 5th of *August*, the Day of *Gowries* Plot.

This *Jacobite* is mightily given to these kind of superstitious Observations ; for P. 54. he makes a wise Observation ; that when the Act for the Security of the *Kirk* pass'd, it rain'd so hard upon the Leaden Roof of the *Scotch* Parliament that the Members could not hear the Clerks read it ; and as soon as the Storm was over, a Religious *Jacobite* told the House, *It was apparent that the Heavens declared against Presbytery*. What excellent Instances do these *Traytors* give of the Justice and Piety of their Cause ?

Before I take notice of the Proceedings in *Scotland* consequent to the *Union*, I must observe, that after this Bill was pass'd in the *Scotch* Parliament, it was brought into the *English*, and met with a quick Passage. Being approv'd of in the *Gross*. The Articles had been Printed, and long before been well weigh'd by the Commissioners for the Treaty, and consider'd by the best Heads of both Kingdoms. The *Union* was what all that wish'd 'em well pray'd for ; and the *English* House of Commons receiv'd the Treaty with Pleasure, and pass'd it with Dispatch. The *Tories* made some Opposition, especially in the House of Lords, where I meet with the

the following *Protestors* against the Articles concerning the altering the Laws and Statutes of either Kingdom, the Quota of the *Scotch Taxes*, the Equivalent, the *Scotch Peers*, the *Kirk*, which those Lords mark'd with a * would not have call'd the *true Protestant Religion*, and those Mark'd with † protested against the Bill itself.

A LIST of the English Peers that protested against the Articles of the Scots-Union.

Duke of <i>Beaufort</i> . *		Lord <i>Granville</i> . *
Duke of <i>B——m</i> . *		† Lord <i>Weymouth</i> . *
† Earl of <i>North——n</i> . *		Lord <i>L——b</i> . *
† Earl of <i>Winchelsea</i> . *		Lord <i>G——ford</i> . *
† Earl of <i>N——m</i> *		Lord <i>Sta——ll</i> . *
Earl of <i>Rocheſter</i> .		Lord <i>Hav——m</i>
† Earl of <i>Tha——t</i> . *		Lord <i>H——d</i> .
Earl of <i>Abing——n</i> . *		Lord <i>Guern——y</i> . *
† Earl of <i>Angl——y</i> . *		George <i>B——th</i> and
† Earl of <i>Scarſdale</i> .		<i>Wells</i> . *
Lord <i>N——th & G——y</i> . *		

I wiſh I cou'd have left out Four or Five Noble Names in this *Liſt*, without a Charge of Partiality ; thoſe Lords having ſhewn their True Love to their Country ſince by their Zeal for the *Proteſtant-Succeſſion*, and the *Commerce of Great-Britain*. In this good Cauſe have the Earls of *N——m*, *Abing——n*, *Angl——a*, and the Lord *Guer——y*, diſtinguiſh'd themſelves in thoſe Times when it was moſt dangerous

ous to Act or Speak for the Good of their Country. The *Union-Bill* met with little or no Opposition in the *House of Commons*. Those that did oppose it had Mr. *Br---y* one of the late Managers at their Head. The Quondam Chancellor and Treasurer were Two of the Commissioners for treating of the *Union*; and at the End of this *Treatise* will be found two Blessed Lists of Representatives which they got sent up from *North-Britain* when they had the Management, which shew what use they wou'd have made of that *Union*, which is now one of the greatest Securities of the *British* Peace.

The *Union* took Place according to the *Acts* of Ratification in *England* and *Scotland*, the 1st of *May*, 1707. And the *Faction* despairing of making any thing of the Impostor's Pretensions if they suffer'd it to establish it self peaceably, continu'd to give it all the Disturbance and Interruption they cou'd. They rais'd Clamours against the Execution of every Article, and cry'd out on the least Delay, tho' of absolute necessity, that the *Union* was broken, particularly with reference to the sending down the *Equivalent*. The first Outcry was about the Officers sent from *England* to assist the *Scots* in Collecting the Revenue of Custom and Excise. *All, or most of the Officers of the Customs and Excise*, says the *Memoir-Writer*, P. 42. were sent down from *England*; which is as arrant a Falsity as ever the *Faction* invented. *The first Clamour I meet with*, says a Writer who was employ'd in that Service, *against these Proceedings, was the filling*

filling up the Commissions with Englishmen and Strangers. And I mention it not as it was a real ground of Complaint, their Number being not one Fifth Part of the whole, as appears by their Establishment; but to remark how readily every thing was laid hold upon to reproach the Union, &c. He proceeds, Altho' the small Number of English employ'd in the Customs were a sufficient Answer to the Objections, and a full Justification of the English Government in that Case, yet it is a more clear Defence, when it is consider'd that it was impossible to introduce the new Method of Collection, the Rules of their keeping their several Offices and their Accounts, which were all now to be done after the English Manner, without the assistance of others from England who had been bred up to the same Business, and were absolutely Masters of the Methods practis'd in England. The Officers that were sent, were Men of known Experience and Capacity, as Lionel Norman, Esq; from the Custom-House at Berwick; Jessop Boughton, Esq; from the Custom-House at London; Mr. John Colquit, from Chester; Mr. John Sewell from Carlisle; Mr. Warwick Arthur from Burlington; who were dispatch'd into Scotland before the Commissioners of the Customs there were nam'd, to put the Scots Custom-House Officers into a Method. And they found the Confusion of Method, and Remissness of Practice so great there, that had we room to enter into Particulars, one might prove, that the sending those Gentlemen, whom the *Memoir-Man* calls the *Canalia* or *Scum* of England,

gland, to be of the last Necessity. That Vile Author adds, *England had clear'd it self of Robbers by giving them Places in Scotland*; and represents the Order into which those Gentlemen brought the *Custom-House Officers in Scotland* as the greatest Hardship on the Merchants. How careful the Government was, not to give Occasion for such a Clamour, as that *Englishmen* had all the Posts in the Revenue, may be seen by the Two first Commissions for the Customs of *Excise*.

Commissioners for Customs.	Commissioners of Excise.
Sir Alexander Rigby.	Alex. Wetherbourn, Esq;
James Isaacson, Esq;	John Montgomery, Esq;
Lionel Norman, Esq;	John Whittam, Esq;
Sir Robert Dickson.	David Ross, Esq;
The Honourable Wil- liam Boyle, Esq;	Alexander Forbes, Esq;

Above half of whom were *Scotchmen*. And as the *Scots* have since made themselves better acquainted with the Revenue, the *English* have been sent for home and *North-Britains* put in their Places. As reasonable as necessary as this Practice was, great was the Cry made against it; and the *Scotch* Gentlemen who accepted of Employments were term'd, as the Author of the *Memoirs* tells us, Renegadoes and Sellers of their Country; tho' it is most certain, that the Gentlemen of the best Estates and Families in *North-Britain*,

Britain, did either appear for or joyn in with the Union. Every Act done in consequence of it was however misrepresented; and the Populace, who in all Nations are fond of occasion of Complaint, took hold of this; which the *Cavaliers* mightily aggravated, telling them in plain terms as our Factious Author does, that *nothing but the Restoration of the Royal Family could restore them to their Rights.* And then he adds as gross and impudent an Untruth, as ever *Jacobite* was guilty of, *That there was scarce One in a Thousand of the Scots Nation for Queen Anne.* P. 343. He adds, *The Presbyterians themselves were willing to pass over the Objection of the King's being a Papist;* which is all true alike. A Man who was a Witness of their Disposition, writes thus on this Subject, *It was expected and indeed apprehended in England, that those of the Presbyterians who had before vigorously appear'd against the Union, would have appeared against the Government;* but instead of that, the People who were most warm against the Union, nay even the Western Men, who do not own or joyn with the Church, yet all as one Man declared against joyning with French Invaders, Papists, and a Returning Tyranny, which they easily foresaw must be the Consequence of an Invader; and therefore laying aside all Animosities, private Grudges, and Cavils, about the Union, they unanimously declared their Resolution to stand together with their Lives and Estates to defend the Government against all the Powers of France and the Pretender.

I have now gone thro' his long Account of the Proceſs of the *Union*. I have trac'd him thro' all his Mazes, and turn'd out the *Jacobite* when he hid himſelf as a *Scotchman*. I have ſhewn, that the greateſt Part of the *Anti-Unioners* were Friends to the *Impoſtor*; and that they endeavour'd to perplex Matters only to ſerve him. I have prov'd that they were only a Noify, Inſolent, and Deſperate Faction, like the *Tories* in *England*; ſupported by a Blind, Unruly, Thoughtleſs Multitude, Spirited up by Artifices and Lyes. I am now to follow him in that Part of his *History* where he ſpeaks of the *Pretender's* Invaſion, which he makes to be the Conſequence of the Peoples Averſion to the *Union*. They had not, 'tis true, made much Tryal of it, but the *Faction* never conſider'd it as good or bad for themſelves, but as good or bad for the *Impoſtor*. Their Cry againſt it was got into the Mouths of the *Scots* Rabble, as the Cry of the *Church* got ſometime after into the Mouths of the *English* Mob; and the *Cavaliers* were ſo induſtrious to improve it, that abundance of well-meaning People were led away by it at firſt. That Juncture they therefore reſolve to improve.

Let not People think it ſtrange, that the *Scots Jacobites* ſhould, by their *Boaſts* of Numbers which they had not, engage the *French* King to ſend the *Pretender* with a Fleet and Army to aſſiſt them. The *English Jacobites*, by the like falſe Representations of Perſons and Things, have more than once ſince the *Revolution* impos'd upon that Old Monarch; and beſides, his Cauſe
was

was then so Desperate, that there was no Game so hazardous which 'twas not his Interest to Play abroad, when Destruction was so near, and had been so sure at home, had not the *Faction* in *Great-Britain* fav'd him by the Peace.

I have already made appear, that the *Presbyterians* were entirely in the Interests of *Queen Anne*, and that even the *Western-Shires* of *Scotland* declar'd against the Impostor. The *Memoir-Writer* says, contrary to this, *That they had their private Delegates from each Parish, to meet and concert Measures together for him. That they sent to that good Briton and Protestant, George Lockhart of Carnwarth, to enquire when the King would land; and that one of the Chief of the Cameronians told him they were content to joyn in an Army with the Episcopalians, for it was not now a Time for Scotland to be divided amongst Themselves.* The best Answer to which will be a Passage or Two of the Writer whom I quoted on this Head last. “ *The Western* “ *People, continues he, began to form Associa-* “ *tions; and the Burghers of Edinburgh listing* “ *Men, and subscribing to maintain, some Fifty,* “ *some Forty, some Thirty, some Twenty, the* “ *Western Men sent them word they would* “ *come and joyn with them; and the People* “ *call'd Cameronians made their open Protesta-* “ *tion against the Invasion. To this I shall add* part of the *Act* Publish'd by the General Assembly for a *Fast*. “ *The Commission of the Ge-* “ *neral Assembly, &c. being in the just Judg-* “ *ment of God threaten'd with an Invasion, by*

“ an Enemy, that hath employed his Power for
 “ the Ruin of that Holy Religion which we
 “ profess, and the enslaving of *Europe*, and who
 “ designs to set a *Popish Pretender* upon the
 “ Throne of these Nations, to the utter over-
 “ throw of the True Reformed Religion, all
 “ our Interests Sacred and Civil, and all that
 “ God hath graciously wrought for us by the
 “ late happy Revolution, and hitherto preserved
 “ to us; and being sensible of what we owe in
 “ Gratitude to our Rightful and Lawful Sove-
 “ reign Queen *Anne*, do look upon it as our
 “ Duty, &c. This Writer tells us further,
 The greatest Part of all the *Presbyterians* of
Scotland, and *Synods*, address'd the Queen al-
 so on the Subject of the Invasion. And speak-
 ing of the Fast above-mention'd, he proceeds;
 “ The Assembly shew'd their Wisdom and Pru-
 “ dence in so happily timing an Action of that
 “ determining Consequence, and taking the ve-
 “ ry Moment of its being most effectual, as
 “ well to convince the Enemy that they had
 “ nothing to expect but the whole United Force
 “ of the *Presbyterians* against them, as to satis-
 “ fy the Government, &c. The Man talks of
 the good Effects of this *Act* of the Assembly;
 and of the Zealous and Loyal Sermons and Pray-
 ers of the *Presbyterian* Ministers. “ By this
 “ Method, *continues he*, they open'd the Eyes
 “ of the whole Nation; and the People rous'd
 “ by this Happy Vigour of their Clergy, began
 “ to stir every where immediately; a new Face
 “ appear'd upon the Publick Affairs; the gene-
 “ ral

“ ral Dejection and Hesitation, which seemed
 “ before to make the People look Dark and
 “ Unresolved were quite removed, and nothing
 “ was to be seen among the *Presbyterian* Party,
 “ but Associations, Addresses, Preparations for
 “ fighting, fitting up their Arms, and a chearful
 “ resolved Temper to fight the *French* where-
 “ ever they were to be found.

I shou'd not make any use of this Writer, tho' he tells us he speaks of his own Knowledge, did not what he says agree exactly with our Experience since King *George's* happy Accession to the Throne. The *Scots* Nation have shewn by their Unanimous and Loyal Addresses to his Majesty, that they abhor the Pretensions of the *Impostor*; and are as true Lovers of the *Protestant Religion* and *Liberty*, as their Country-Men have been ever since the *Reformation*. Notwithstanding all this, did the *Faction* bounce there as they did here Four Years ago of their *Majority*, their *Nine in Ten*, and such ridiculous Stuff; whereas, they are both here and there a Beggarly Rascally Crew, headed by a few Mad Hair-brain'd Rakes, and obstinate Bigots, who wou'd sacrifice every Thing to their Bigotry and Passions. The Distractions which ow'd their Rise to the Intrigues of the *Jacobites* in *Scotland*, coming to the Ears of the *French* Court, and that of *St. Germain's*, the Former hard prest by the Confederates, greedily took hold of this Opportunity offer'd them to make a Diversion to *England*, the most powerful Nation of the Alliance, by raising a Rebellion in *Scotland*. The *Memoir-Writer* men-

tioning this Design of *Lewis* the XIV. gives us an Instance of his Skill in *History* and *Chronology*. The *French King*, says he, by the bad Success of his Arms during the last Campaign, (wherein he lost the Battels of *Audenard* and *Turin*, and several strong Towns) being brought to a weak Pass, began to relish the Proposal, and sends over *Hookes* again to get Intelligence. The Battel of *Turin* was the Campaign before the Pretender's Attempt; the Battel of *Audenard* the Campaign after it; but that's a small Fault with this Writer, whose History is owing more to his Invention than his *Memoirs*.

Hookes, he says, when he came to *Scotland* acted more like a *Servant of the French King's* than a *Subject of the Pretender's*. He was for raising a Civil War upon any Terms, and did not much mind whether the *Cavaliers* ventur'd their Necks on a Reasonable or Desperate Prospect. The *Faction* have been always treated by the *French Court* as the *French Court* has been always treated by them. When they cou'd by false News, and false Arguments, get *Lewis* to assist them, they did not care to what Ruin they expos'd his Fleets and Armies; and when the *French King* had any Hopes of making any Diversion by them to the *English Arms*, he car'd as little what became of his *Jacobite* Friends, whether they were Kill'd or Hang'd, let 'em come off how they cou'd, 'twas all one to him. Yet they have been such Fools as to hearken to his Promises, tho' the Performances never answer'd; and had a strict Hand been held over them

them, they would not have dar'd to engage themselves so lightly in every Chimerical Conspiracy.

When *Hookes* came, the *Memoir-Writer* tells us, the Duke of *Hamilton*, and Duke of *A—* were in ill Terms, both pretending to be the Head of the *Jacobite* Party. Their Disaffection to Queen *ANNE*'s Government is taken for granted; the Dispute between them is not who shall do most to serve their Queen, and save their Country; but who shall be foremost in their Endeavours to betray it. Duke *Hamilton*, as my Author affirms, p. 350. *was altogether Loyal, and would infallibly joyn the King.* Assurances of which the Faction had given the Earl of *Middleton* at *St. Germain*s; but the Lord *Perth*, another of the *Scots* Fugitives with the *Pretender*, prevail'd to have the Duke of *A—* prefer'd to Duke *Hamilton*, and *Hookes* was order'd to apply to him.

The first Person *Hookes* saw in *Scotland*, was the Countess-Dowager of *Errol*; the Reader will find that Name in all the *Tory* Lists. He then saw other Leaders of the *Faction* that had oppos'd the *Union*; produc'd a Letter from the Impostor, and another from his Patron the *French* King, empowering him to Treat with the *Scots* Cavaliers; which He did, and as our Author informs us, sent the *French* King an Account

Of the Number of Men they could raise for the Pretender.

Of the Conveniency they had of subsisting Troops with Meat, Cloaths, and Quarters.

Of the Number of Men, the Sum of Money, and Quantity of Arms, and Warlike Stores, they expected from France.

Of the State of Affairs in Scotland.

Of the Inclinations and Forwardness of the People to joyn the French.

Here's Treason; here's Love to the Protestant Religion and Liberty; here are Lovers of their Country, as they then pretended; here Loyalists to Queen ANNE, as were their Pretences in the Time of the late Ministry who employ'd them. The *Memoir-Writer* affirms, that he saw the Paper they sign'd and sent to *Versailles* by *Hookes*: Who by conferring more with the Duke of A—, than with Duke *Hamilton*, disoblig'd the Friends of the Latter, among whom was the Author of the *Memoirs*; who resented it, That the *Jacobite* and *Popish* Renegade, did not put as much Confidence in them, as he did in the Duke of A—'s Friends; however, he does the Latter the Justice to acknowledge that they deserv'd Great Honour and Praise, upon the Account of the evident Demonstrations they gave of their Loyalty. He adds in the same Page 354, The Duke of A—

A—— was ambitious to be thought the Chief and First Promoter of the King's Restoration. In the next he assures us, *Hookes brought over Letters to the Duke of Hamilton, and Earl Marfchal.* He informs us, that the Duke of A——'s Friends charg'd Duke Hamilton with Lukewarmness; but the Latter out of meer Zeal to the Cause of Tyranny and Popery, bore them no Enmity, but wish'd them Success, in their Designs to betray and enslave their Country to the French; Rare Britons these, Excellent Anti-Unioners; Hamilton's Friends wrote to Perkin of the Duke of A——'s, *They would strive with none that were doing him Service, save in out-doing them in that Point of it, which lay in their Power; assuring him, they were ready to venture ALL when he requir'd it; and advising him, as they thought themselves in Duty bound, not to Hazard his Royal Person, unless He brought with him 10000 Men.* Here was an Emulation between Duke Hamilton's, and the Duke of A——'s Friends, who should Assist most zealously to Dethrone Queen ANNE. Before I proceed any farther in this Business, I shall give the Names of those Scots-Men, whom the Memoir-Writer makes to be engag'd in it.

A LIST

A LIST of all those Scots-Men, mention'd by the Author of the Scots-Memoirs, as concern'd in the French Invasion to bring in the Pretender before Queen ANNE dy'd.

Duke of Hamilton.	Graham of Fintre.
Duke of A——.	Drummond of Logie.
Lord D——.d.	William Cockran of Kilmaronock.
Earl of E——.l.	George Lockhart of Carnwarth.
Earl M——.l.	Maul of Kellie.
Earl of S——.e.	Captain Stratton.
Viscount Kelsyth.	Charles Fleming, Brother to Earl of Wigtoun.
Viscount Stormount.	Mr. Malcom of Grange.
Lord N——.n.	Sterling of Keirseaton.
Sir John D——.d.	Sterling of Cardon.
Sir David Murray.	Hamilton of Wisbaw.
Fatheringhame of Plowrie.	
Patrick Lyon of Auchterhouse.	

Many more were engag'd in this Conspiracy, whose Names he does not give us; and we shall enquire into the Conduct of some of the Chief of the Conspirators, who having Intelligence that the *French Fleet* was coming with the *Chevalier de St. George* Aboard, Duke Hamilton was for pushing the Matter to the utmost; *when we have drawn our Swords, says he, we must throw away the Scabbards.* Nevertheless when
the

the Time for his Landing drew near, he thought fit to remove to *England*; but first he enquir'd of the Viscount of *K——b*, *Lockhart* of *Carnwarth*, and *Cockran* of *Kilmaronock*, whether they thought the King would come; and those good Britons being diffident of it, he told them *His Affairs requir'd his Presence in Lancashire, but he would not stir if they could give him any Assurance of the King's coming.* The Conspirators had then discouraging Letters from *France*; but before Duke *Hamilton* departed from *Scotland*, Capt. *Stratton* gave him Intimation at Sir *David Murray's* House at *Stenbope*, that he had receiv'd certain Advice from the Earl of *Middleton*, That the King was coming. This King of theirs is the very same Person who was Attainted by Act of Parliament, and whom *George Lockhart* of *Carnwarth* renounc'd, to get into the House of Commons; the same for whom any good Protestant would be glad to get 100,000 *l.* by bringing him to Justice.

Of this *Lockhart* of *Carnwarth*, I must say a Word or two more. Common Fame has charg'd him with being the Author or Collector of the *Scots Memoirs*; which he knows, and yet is so far from being asham'd of the Scandal, that he has not Publish'd one Word in Excuse of himself, or disowning of them. If he did not write them himself, he must have communicated a good Part of them to him that did, and particularly Duke *Hamilton's* Speech to *Carnwarth*; when after some Considerations of what he should do upon receiving *Stratton's* Express at *Murray's*

of

of *Stenbop*, whether to go to *Lancashire*, or stay for the *Impostor's Landing*: He spoke thus to *Lockbart*, who was then with him, to excuse his resolving to go:

This Design, said he, cannot be long a Secret, since the Preparations for it will be Publick to all the World; and if I, after I am so far on my Journey with my Family, do all of a sudden return back, every Body will conclude, it is with a Design to joyn the King; and so I shall be expos'd to the Malice of my Enemies, and be certainly clap'd up in Prison, and sent to England; whereas if I go on, perhaps they may think I am not very forward in Hazarding; and I have stept out of the Way on purpose; and an Express can be easily at me in Two or Three Days. I shall be always ready, and be able to force my Way through England to Scotland; besides, the People of Scotland are all ready enough to joyn the King at the Instant he Lands; and I do not know but I may do him more Service by being in the North of England, to excite his Friends there to appear for him.

Lockbart, excusing him on this Account, undertook to communicate these Reasons to *Stratton*, who had been in France before, and was a Chief Agent; and *Hamilton* desires *Carnwarth* to send him an Express as soon as the King was landed; as also, that he would repair to the Shire of *Lanerk*, where both their chief Interests lay, to raise their Friends, and meet the
Duke

Duke at *Dumfries*. This the late *Commissioner of Accounts* promis'd, and the late *Master of the Ordnance*, both *Confidants* of the late *Ministers*, engag'd to do; the *Latter* undertaking not only to raise Men for the *Impostor* in *Scotland*, and to proclaim him King in the *Western Shires*, but to defend the *Borders* against the *English*: How well did those *Ministers* provide for the *Safety* of the *Kingdom*, and the *Security* of the *Protestant-Succession*, by taking these *Two Men* into their *Confidence*? And we are now to examine the *Wildness* of the *Author's* Calculation, with respect to the *Success* of the *Invasion*, had it taken *Effect*; and tho' it may be true, that the *Scots* might have been at another *Time* better provided for their *Defence* than they were then, yet we shall find his *Account* of *Affairs* highly magnify'd on the one *Hand*, and lessen'd on the other, as his *Wishes* directed him *for* or *against* it. I have already shewn how hearty and unanimous the *Kirk* and *Presbyterians* lately were in the *Opposition* they intended to give the *Invaders*; and the *Scots Presbyterians* being at least *Three Parts* in *Four* of that *Nation*, there was no great likelihood that the *Jacobites* would have got any *Thing* but the *Gallows* by their *Rebellion*. Where was there a *Parliament* to have asserted the *Impostor's* *Right*; or what would their asserting it have signify'd, they having no *Right* themselves; all *Power* centring in the *Legislature* of *Great-Britain*? What could hinder the *Scots Protestants* to have taken *Arms* as fast as the *Scots*

Papists

Papists and Tories? And supposing there were but 7000 Regular Troops in *Scotland*, were they not sufficient, with the Help of the Militia, which was all over the Country in good Hands, to have made a Defence of a few Days only. In a Weeks Time the *English* Army marching from all Quarters towards *Scotland*, had been with them; and the Troops from *Flanders* as soon; those from *Ireland* sooner: And unless the *Scots* and *English* had been Passive; unless our Fleet had been Windbound or beaten; or our Army stopp'd by Deluges or Inundations, the *French* might as well have rais'd a Hundred, as Forty Thousand Men, and have form'd them into Regiments, before the *English* and *Scots* Armies had been in a Condition to have driven them to their Fleet again, if there had been a Fleet left to have receiv'd them. The *Memoir-Writer*, to make Matters worse on the Side of the Government than they were, says, the Regular Troops in *Scotland* were but Two Thousand Five Hundred Men; whereas the State of the Standing Forces was thus;

Two Regiments of Dragoons,	}	500
very thin, - - - - -		

One Troop of Guards and Gra-	}	250
nadiers, - - - - -		

750 Horse.

Two

Two Battalions of Foot Guards,	800
One Battalion of <i>Grant</i> ,	- - - 600
One - - of <i>Maitland</i> ,	- - - 600
One - - of <i>Straitbnaver</i> ,	- - 600
	<hr/>
	2600 Foot.
	<hr/>

In all 3300 Horse and Foot and the *French* brought but 5000 with them. As he lessens the Forces in *Scotland*, so he does those in *England*: In *England*, says he, *the Regular Troops were rarely 5000*; whereas the Forces there were thus,

Four Troops of Horse Guards,	- - 800
One Troop of Horse Grenadiers,	100
The Duke of <i>Northumberland's</i>	} 450
Regiment	
<i>Effex's</i>	} Dragoons, - - 1050
<i>Raby's</i>	
<i>Carpenter's</i>	
	<hr/>
	2400 Horse.
	<hr/>

The Two Regiments of Guards,	2500
Thirteen Battalions of Foot,	- - 7800
	<hr/>
	10300 Foot.
	<hr/>

In all 12000 Horse and Foot, of which 2000 Horse, and 7000 Foot, were immediately order'd towards the *North*, and were actually advanc'd near the Borders when News came of the Retreat of the *French* Fleet from the *Scots* Coasts. Besides the

Men in <i>Scotland</i>	- - - - -	3300
Order'd from <i>England</i>	- - - - -	9000
There were	{ <i>Langston's</i> Horse <i>Echlin's</i> <i>Tunbridge's</i> } Dragoons	{ 1050
To which must be added <i>Cadogan's</i> Men		5000
These made in all	- - - - -	<hr/> 18350 <hr/>

Besides the Horse and Dragoons order'd from *Ireland*, and the Horse and Foot General *Cadogan* was bringing from *Holland*, the *Dutch* were sending Twelve Battalions from thence after General *Cadogan*: Thus the whole Army would in a Fortnight or Three Weeks Time, have consisted of 25000 Regular Troops; a force sufficient to have beaten the *French* Army, and all their *Scots* Friends together, tho' the *Scots* Protestants had remain'd Neuters, which one cannot imagine they would.

By this Diversion of the *English* Arms in *Scotland*, the Writer of the *Memoirs* assures us, the *French* would have had a fair Opportunity of reducing *Holland*. He knows as much of *Geography*

graphy as of *History*. The Confederates had added *Brabant* and *Flanders* to the *Dutch Barrier*, by the Duke of *Marlborough's* Victory at *Ramellies*. Their Army, after the *English Detachment* was transported to *Scotland*, would have been Superior to the *French*; and yet these 5000 *Frenchmen*, headed by so Excellent a General as the *Pretender*, would have cut out the Allies so much Work as to have enabled the *French King* to have recover'd all he had lost in the *Netherlands*, and have conquer'd *Holland*, when he was Weakest, which he could not do when he was Strongest; and in the Heart of their Country. With such vain Views, and airy Chimera's, did the Faction flatter themselves, and their Protector.

England, continues he, *was no ways in a Readiness to oppose the Storm*; and it is more than probable, if the King had but once set his Foot on the Scots Shore, all his Subjects would have soon submitted. This Argument the *Jacobites* and *Tories* mightily banded about in *England* and *Scotland* after the *Pretender* was return'd to *France*. They urg'd it against the then Ministry as a Proof of their Negligence; they affected to be highly concern'd for what must have happen'd, had the *French* landed; they were in Pain for the Success of the Invaders, whom they themselves had invited to Invade us; they endeavour'd to turn this Plot too on the *Whig Ministry*, as they had done the former *Scots Plot*: The Author of the *Memoirs* assures us, p. 366. *The Duke of Hamilton* was told by a certain

Q 2

General

General Officer, that during the Campaign of 1707, the Duke of Marlborough had Information of the whole Project, from a Person belonging to the Earl of Melfort. Here his Grace is represented as having the best Intelligence in the World; at other Times he is accus'd of putting the Money in his Pocket, which he should have laid out to procure it. The Author intimates, that this Information was neglected, and brings very villainous Arguments to prove it; *Whether*, says he, *the English did not believe that the French King would have prosecuted the Measures; or as some think, that the Duke of Marlborough, and the Earl of Godolphin, were privy, and had consented to it, or Content it should go on; resolving ere it ended to provide for their own Security.* A very Pretty Story, that the Duke of Marlborough should consent to any Measures which were likely to give the least Check to the Progress of his Victorious Arms; that He who was justly the Favourite of his Mistress, as long as Her Glory remain'd unshak'd; who had under Her acquir'd Immortal Fame, with a Princely Dignity and Fortune; should have a Thought of submitting to a Creature of the *French Kings*; a desperate beggarly *Outlaw*: But it was the Way of the Faction to do their utmost to render the Nation's best Friends suspected. When *Fenwick* was afraid of the Gallows, he accuses the same Illustrious Lord, the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, the Earl of *Orford*, and several other Noble Patriots, of Designs to Betray that Countrey, which they had

had been so Instrumental to save: And this Writer, out of Spite to the Duke of *Marlborough* for Beating the *French*, wickedly Intimates that he had an Understanding with them. The *Tories* in *England* talk'd after the same mad Rate, in the Time of their late *Ministry*, when *Lies* and *Scandal* were the High-Road to Preferment; and upon Occasion of the *French* Invasion, they cry'd out, That the *Whig* Ministers had taken no Care to provide for our Defence.

The Lord *Haversham*, a disgusted *Whig*, being list'd in the Service of the *Tories*, made and Printed an Annual Speech for them; and in the first Session after the intended Invasion, he loads the Ministry with many Charges of Neglect, both as to Men, Money, Arms, Ammunition, &c. how true, one may see, by his Affirming there were but One Thousand Five Hundred Men in *Scotland*, when the *Pretender* was coming; whereas I have shewn there were Five Regiments of Foot, and Two of Horse, in all above Three Thousand Horse and Foot; and the *Memoir* Writer himself acknowledges there were Two Thousand Five Hundred Horse and Foot; but the Care of the then Ministry will best appear by the Sense the Nation gave of it, in the Vote of their Representatives: For the Ministers to approve themselves Faithful and Diligent in their *Ministry*, laid the whole Affair before the House of Commons, who having made a strict Enquiry into it, came to this Resolution;

That it appears to this House, that timely and effectual Care was taken by those Employed under Her Majesty at the Time of the intended Invasion of Scotland, to disappoint the Design of Her Majesty's Enemies both at Home and Abroad, by fitting out a sufficient Number of Men of War; ordering a competent Number of Troops from Flanders; giving Directions for the Forces in Ireland to be ready for the Assistance of the Nation; and by making the Necessary and Proper Dispositions of the Forces in England.

Notwithstanding what has been said of the Conspiracy of the Scots Cavaliers to joyn the Pretender; notwithstanding the Conspirators were so Publick in their Proceedings, that the *Memoir Writer* says, *It was strange, Witnesses and Proofs should be wanting to have Hanged any Man*; yet when the Government order'd the Earl M——l, the Viscount Kils——b, the Lord B——o, and others, to be apprehended and brought Prisoners to London, how did the Faction cry out against the Injustice of Imprisoning so many *Innocents*. One of them affirms in a Seditious Treatise publish'd by them upon that Occasion, that they were taken up for *Suspicion of Treason, and treasonable Practices, tho' it did not appear that there was any Cause to suspect them*; of which let the Reader be Judge. And the Clemency of the Government, in letting the Business drop, after the Danger was over,

over, gave a Handle to its Enemies to pretend there was Nothing in it : Tho' the *Scots* Lords in *London* were consulted in the Affair, and not one of their Countrymen seiz'd without their Approbation ; particularly the Duke of *Queensberry*, the Duke of *Montrose*, the Earl of *Mar*, the Earl of *Loudon*, and the Earl of *Seafield*, were summon'd to the Cabinet, and the Names of the suspected Persons read to them : All those Noble Lords declar'd there was great Reason to have Suspicion of them, yet was it given out by the Faction, That *they were very Loyal ; had given undoubted Testimony ever since the Revolution, in which some of them had been very Active and Instrumental, of their Fidelity and good Affection to the Government.* This has particular Relation to the Duke of *A* — whose Behaviour at this Juncture has been related at Large ; and what Notion of Honour must these Men have, who after *having taken all Oaths enjoin'd for the Security of the Government, having sat in Parliament, and been in Offices and Employments of great Trust in the Reigns of King William, and Queen Anne,* should conspire with the *French* to set a Popish Impostor on the *British* Throne, and destroy the Liberties of their Country ; one of these, the Earl of *E* — had Conferences with the Earl of *Wigtown's* Brother, Mr. *Fleming*, who came Ashoar from the *French* Fleet, and went directly to the Earl of *E* —'s House to give Information of their Approach, and concert Matters for their Landing a *French* Army. This Earl of *E* — sent

Mr. *Fleming* into *Perthshire*, and dispatch'd a Messenger to *Aberdeen* to procure a Pilot for the Invader's Fleet. He also gave notice to Mr. *Lockhart* and Capt. *Stratton* of *Flemings* Arrival. These were the Practices of those *Scotchmen*, who had so much Injustice done them by it.

The Author of the *Memoirs* tells us, P. 364, That *there were but 2500 Men in Scotland when the Pretender was on the Coasts, of whom, says he, at least 2000 would have infallibly joyned him.* And P. 373. forgetting what he had said before, he writes, *That the Earl of Leven made a shew of a Vigorous Defence, but it was well enough known, that his Army altho' willing, was of too small a Number to prevent the King's Landing.* This Contradiction he follows with another in the same Page, where speaking of the Design of the Earl of *Leven* to retire to *Berwick*, he gives us to understand that these *Willing Soldiers* were resolv'd not to go with him, *He positively determin'd, says our Author, to have retired with as many as would have followed him, which indeed were very few; intimating, that the rest wou'd have stay'd and have done Duty on the Pretender's Person the first Night he had Land- ed.*

The Part the Duke of *Hamilton* was to have acted upon the Invasion has been hinted already, and *Hamilton* of *Wishaw* was sent Express to him in *Lancashire* to give him notice that the *French Fleet* was ready to sail, that he might make ready to return to *Scotland*, which he did.

Our

Our Author informs us, that *he sat up Three Nights expecting every Moment another Express, which was to have brought him an Account of the Pretender's being Landed ; in which Case he was resolved with about Forty Horse to have rid Night and Day, and forc'd his Way thro' the Country to Scotland.* It is true, the Ministry had some Suspicion of him then, and sent a Messenger down to *Lancashire* to observe him, but he was not to be stopt by one Messenger who had *Forty Jacobite Troopers* ready to make his Way to the *Impostor*. This is the Man, the *Protestant* and the *Briton*, for whom the late Ministers had such a Respect ; for whose Death they put the Nation in an Uproar ; and stuff'd the *Gazettes* with Proclamations of Rewards for the taking *General Macartney*, tho' he was only Second to my Lord *Mobun* who kill'd him.

This is the Man whom they were sending in a Pompous Embassy to *France* to confirm the Peace and Friendship between the Two Nations, and compliment the *French King* on the Treaty which was to secure the *Protestant Succession*. And by this Man's Inclinations and Designs, one may very well make a Judgment of those of the late Managers who put such Confidence in him. This Duke had renounc'd and abjur'd the Pretender ; but what signify Abjurations to *Jacobites* ? One wou'd think by their Practices that their *Priests* dispenc'd with their Oaths as the *Jesuits* do with some of their Emissaries when it serves their Purpose towards the rooting out the *Northern Heresy*.

I have

I have now trac'd the Treasonable Author of the *Memoirs* to the End of his Work, thro' a Thousand Errors both of Will and Judgment. What he says in Praise of the *Scots Nation* I shall not animadvert upon, having a just Esteem for their Merit. Their Courage no Body questions, nor have they been ever charg'd with want of Sense or Virtue by their fair Adversaries. I must also do them the Justice to acknowledge, that they have upon all Occasions stood firm in the Defence of the *British Liberties*; and since his Majesty's happy Accession to the Throne, have in a particular Manner express'd their Duty and Affection to his Royal Person and Government, to the Confusion of the *Faction*, whose Hopes are now at an End; there being nothing left for the Reward of their Rebellion, if they shou'd in their Despair be guilty of it, but the Gallows.

At the Close of the *Memoirs* the Author cries out against King *James the Ist*, for not resenting the Death of his Mother who dy'd on a Scaffold in *England*. What wou'd he have had him done? Wou'd that King have got any Thing but *Fire and Sword for Fire and Sword*, and have provok'd the English to have secluded him the Succession for ever. For my Part, says this Writer, *I'm afraid the Indignation of God was stirred up upon this Account against his Posterity, and that particularly in the Case of his Son Charles the Ist, God visited the Iniquity of his Father.* Yet do we annually mourn for the Sins of our Forefathers in the Death of the
Martyr.

Martyr. How his Fathers Iniquity was visited in it I shall not enquire ; but this I am satisfy'd of, that the best Blessing the Kingdom of *England* has had from the Royal Line of the *Stuarts* is in their Descendant King *George*, whose Reign, and the Reign of his Posterity, will make amends for the Troubles, Distractions, and Miseries, in which this Nation has been involv'd ever since the Death of *Queen Elizabeth*.

In the remaining Part of this Treatise I shall take notice of the Steps taken by the late Ministers and the *Cavalier-Faction* to advance the *Pretender's* Interest in *Scotland*. It was not above Two Years after the intended Invasion, that the Old Ministers who had so gloriously and faithfully serv'd their Queen and Country, were displac'd on no other Account than their Endeavours to extinguish the Hopes of the *Jacobites* for ever, by putting it out of the Power of the *French King* to help them. The *Scots Cavaliers* were mightily in Heart upon the Change of the Ministry in *England*, and follow'd the Example of the *Tories* in sending up Addresses in Favour of the Divine, Hereditary, Unalienable, Indefeasible Right, every Word of which was Treason to the *Revolution* and *Protestant Succession*. Some of 'em we shall find giving broad Hints of the *Pretender's* Title, even to the Queen, who had the *Hannover-Succession* so much at Heart. Those who had been in the deepest of the late Conspiracy came out of their lurking Holes, put themselves forward, and stood Candidates for Members of both Houses of Parliament,

liament. The Court encourag'd them, carefs'd them; paid them; and if ever the *Faction* had any reasonable View of accomplishing their Designs, and introducing Popery and Slavery, it was for the last Four Years, when the Heads of them were in the Ministry.

There was, as has been observ'd, something very remarkable in the Conduct of the *Cavaliers* after the Invasion was over. They had the Impudence to endeavour to turn the Attempt to their Advantage, by reflecting on the Conduct of the Ministers, and charging them with Carelessness in providing for the Defence of the Kingdom, especially that Part of it call'd *North-Britain*. My Lord *Haversham* was directed in the Speech he made on this Head, to have Flings at the Duke of *Marlborough* and the Lord *Godolphin*. *Will the Scales never fall off from our Eyes? Must some Mens mighty Services prevent our looking into others Miscarriages?* Any Pretence in the World to perplex Things and get a Change of the Ministry, which they knew wou'd necessarily bring their Friends into Play. For who would succeed Men that were profess'd Enemies to *France* and the *Pretender*; Men who by their Counsels and Actions had done so much to keep out the one and weaken the other, but those that by their Treachery and Treason had done their utmost to prevent the Ruin of *France*, and bring in the *Pretender*.

Since the *Jacobite* and *Tory* Faction in *England* and *Scotland* cou'd not carry either of their Points, the preventing the *Union*, or bring-

ing in their *Pretender*, they resolv'd to go their old Way to work, and puzzle Matters if they cou'd not confound. In order to this they endeavour'd to get as many of their Friends as they cou'd into the House of *Commons*, and a Door being open for them on the Side of *Scotland*, They us'd all their Interest to let them in that Way. The *Cavalier* Lords put up their Eldest Sons to stand for Shires or Burroughs, and by that means were like to introduce a good Number of Members into the House, which being complain'd of, the Matter was debated, and Council was order'd to be heard in behalf of those Eldest Sons of *Scots* Peers, who were chosen Representatives for Shires or Burghs in *North-Britain*. The Council were Mr. *Constantine Phips*, famous since for his rare Administration in *Ireland*; Mr. *Robert Raymond*, who refus'd to be *Sacheverell's* Council, but has atton'd sufficiently by his Speeches against the Duke of *Marlborough*, Mr. *Walpole*, and other Patriots. I mention these Lawyers, that one may guess what the Cause was by their appearing in it. 'Twas thought hard by some that the *Scots* Peers Sons shou'd not have the same Privilege as the *English*; and the *Faction* on this and the other side of the *Twede* cry'd out against it as a great Act of Injustice; whereas it was agreed by the Articles of *Union*, That none should be capable to Elect or be Elected, to represent any Shire or Burgh in the Parliament of Great-Britain for that Part of the United Kingdom called *Scotland*, except such as were then capable

ble to Elect or be Elected as Commissioners for Shires or Burghs to the Parliament of Scotland. This Exception was made first in *Scotland* itself, and was ratify'd by the Act of *Union*. This the Party knew, and yet taking advantage of their Interest in some Shires and Burghs, they resolv'd to push for it, and see whether they could get in; their Friends giving out in the mean while what a Hardship it wou'd be that the *Scots* Lords Sons should not be on an equal Foot with the *English*. Any Thing in the World to ground a Clamour upon. They knew full well that the Eldest Sons of *Scots* Peers before the *Union* cou'd not be chosen Commissioners for Shires or Burghs in *Scotland*, that their Parliaments always rejected them, and particularly the Viscount *Tarbat's* Eldest Son in the *Scots* Convention Parliament, 1689. Yet Councillor *Phips*, and Councillor *Raymond*, &c. against this Law, against this Fact, appear at the Bar of the House of *Commons* of *Great-Britain*, to plead for the young *Scots* Lords: But how admirably well is all that they cou'd say against Fact and Law, answer'd by the following Argument of a Member of the *British* Parliament.

“ That the fundamental Law of the *Union* had
 “ most expresly reserv'd to the *Commons* of *Scot-*
 “ *land*, that valuable Privilege of Electing their
 “ Representatives in Parliament from among the
 “ best qualify'd Gentlemen of their own Num-
 “ ber and State, in the same manner as they
 “ had formerly us'd to do. That in Electing
 “ Members of Parliament, the Choice of the
 “ Electors

“ Electors ought to be made as free as is possi-
 “ ble from the Influence either of Bribes, or
 “ Threats, and in Justice should only be de-
 “ termin’d by the Honesty and Candour of the
 “ Persons to be chosen. That his Character be
 “ such as promises a faithful Discharge of so
 “ great a Trust ; and that his Inclinations be
 “ accompanied with a sufficient Capacity to
 “ serve the particular Interest of his Country.
 “ But that few in *Scotland* cou’d be suppos’d to
 “ be in a Condition to maintain this Character,
 “ the Commons there being surrounded with a
 “ numerous and powerful Peerage, who like so
 “ many Sovereigns judge and determine within
 “ their respective Bounds in Criminal as well as
 “ Civil Matters, being vested with vast Superi-
 “ orities and Hereditary Jurisdictions ; so that
 “ no Commoner holding any Part of his Lands
 “ of a Peer, or indeed being in his Neighbour-
 “ hood could be reckon’d at Liberty to make a
 “ free Election of his Representative. Thus the
 “ Commons of *Scotland*, whereof the Majority
 “ of their Parliament consisted, had invincible
 “ Arguments for preserving entire to themselves
 “ that necessary Privilege of excluding their
 “ Peers Eldest Sons from being Members of that
 “ House. That if the Parliament of *Scotland*
 “ which consisted of Peers and Commoners, sit-
 “ ting together in the same House, enjoying
 “ the same Liberty of Speech, and the same
 “ common Privilege, and judicative Capacity,
 “ being also restricted to the same Rules and
 “ Forms, had so many weighty Reasons for ex-
 “ cluding

“cluding their Peers Elder Sons, how many
 “more Arguments of greater Moment might be
 “urg’d in the House of *Commons* of *Great-*
 “*Britain*, who subsisted a separate and dis-
 “tinct House from the Peers ; enjoying by
 “themselves so many valuable Privileges and
 “Immunities, which cou’d not be encroach’d
 “upon, or subjected to a House of Peers, with-
 “out endangering the whole Constitution of
 “the House of *Commons* ? And in the last Place
 “*England* and *Scotland* being now United, and
 “their Interests inseparably joyn’d, it ought to
 “be a Maxim with all true *Britons*, that the
 “Liberty of the *Commons* of *Scotland* will al-
 “ways be an Advantage to those of *England*,
 “and that the Slavery of the first cannot fail
 “of ending in the Destruction of the latter.

Little was or cou’d be offer’d on the other
 side against such Arguments ; so the Question
 being put, *That the Eldest Sons of the Peers of*
Scotland, were capable by the Laws of Scotland,
at the time of the Union, to Elect, or be Elected,
to represent any Shire or Borough in Scotland, to
sit in the House of Commons of Great-Britain ;
it pass’d in the Negative. It is true, there were
 some *Scots* Peers, whose Eldest Sons had they
 been chosen, wou’d have been hearty Lovers of
 their Country, and Assertors of the Constitution.
 And even at that time, there might be One or
 Two Sons of *Scots* Peers whom the Court wou’d
 have been willing to have continu’d in the
 House. But in the main this Novelty wou’d
 have been favourable to the *Tory* Faction ; and
 there

there not being the same ground for it. The House of *Commons* in their Vote did Justice to both *Scots* and *English*; and the former cou'd not with any shew of Reason complain of a Hardship by a Law of their own making, as well as an Ancient Usage before the *Union*.

As the Affairs of greatest Importance relating to *North-Britain* will now it is Part of the United Kingdom be transacted at *London*, the Capital of that Kingdom, my History will not seem to be so *Scottish* as it was before the Two Kingdoms were United. But since I take notice of no Events but what have particular Relation to *Scotland*, it cannot reasonably be said that I digress from my Subject. And having mention'd *London*, the Capital of *Great-Britain*, it brings me to consider a Grievance very much complain'd of by the *North-Britains*, and that is the drawing a great Company of their Nobility and Gentry from *Scotland* to spend their Estates at *London*, which however they did before the *Union*, and when they had by no means so good Pretences to a share of the Honours and Advantages made by Places of Trust and Profit. *Cornwall*, *Wales*, and the *North* of *England*, have the very same Complaint to make, and I doubt not if we had Leisure and Convenience to form an exact Calculation, we shou'd find, that the Nobility and Gentry of *Scotland* are no Losers by their living in *London*. As they are a Part of the Subjects of *Great-Britain*, they are justly entitul'd to the Benefits of their Sovereign's Favour, and wou'd injure themselves if they

ſlept away their Time in the *Highlands* or *Lowlands* of *Scotland*. They ought to warm themſelves as well as the *Engliſh* with the Court-Sun, and would find it as tempting without a *Union* as with it, under the ſame Prince, tho' the Difference muſt needs be very great as to the Degrees of it. I am ſo much a Friend to *North-Britain* that I wou'd have the whole Nation the better for being United to us ; and if any thing can contribute to their Welfare that is in the Power of a *Britiſh* Parliament God forbid but they ſhould have it.

What Friends the *Tories* in *England* are to the *Scots*, may be ſeen by their Conduct when they had the Miniſtry in their Hands after *Sacheverell's* unhappy Buſineſs, of which I ſhall obſerve ſeveral Inſtances hereafter. When the *Whigs* had the Adminiſtration, the *Scots* deſir'd nothing for their Advantage or Security but it was immediately procur'd them. The Royal Burroughs of *Scotland*, petitioning the Parliament for Relief in the Caſe of the Draw-back on Fiſh and Foreign Salt, which amounted to the Sum of 26000 *l.* in two or three Years, and was diſputed in *Scotland*, the *Engliſh* *East-India-Company* oppos'd that Petition, repreſenting the Inconveniencies that would ariſe by it to their own Trade, and other Branches of the *Engliſh* Commerce ; but the Houſe of *Commons*, the ſame that impeach'd the Doctor, was ſo jealous of the *Credit of the Union*, on which the *Scots* Petition was founded, that they order'd a Bill to be brought in for the aſcertaining the
 Payment

Payment of that Sum, to the great satisfaction of the *Scots* Nation, who saw by this that the *English* were resolv'd to treat them as their Brethren and Countrymen, and to make no distinction of Interests, which in Justice and good Policy ought never to be done. Not long after, the same *House of Commons* order'd another Bill to be brought in to *improve the Union of the Two Kingdoms, and to make the Laws concerning Treason, and the Tryals thereupon, the same throughout the United Kingdoms, with a Clause for abolishing all Torture.* The Occasion of this Bill was the Defect of the *Scots* Law in the Case of the late *Jacobite Conspirators*, who tho' no Body doubted of their Guilt, cou'd not be convicted of it by the Proofs which convinc'd all Mankind. When that Bill was debated, the *Scots* Members objecting to those Clauses that made the *Scots* liable to *English* Forfeitures, the House acquiesc'd in their Sentiments, and agreed that *no Attainder for Treason should extend to the disinheriting any Heir, nor prejudice the Right and Title of any other than the Offender;* which was the Law of *Scotland* before, and will be the Law of *England* Two Years hence, by a Clause in the same Act mov'd by the Lord *Somers.* Thus it appears, that the *English* have rather comply'd with the *Scots* Constitution, than oblig'd the *Scots* to comply with the *English.* This good Understanding between the Two Nations made the *Scots Cavaliers* desperate, especially after the glorious Campaign of 1709. The *North Britains*, who were ob-

serv'd to be shy in their Addresses on the *Union*, being now satisfy'd that their Brethren of the *South* intended nothing by it but the preservation of the Protestant Religion, and the Welfare of the United Kingdom, now broke out into the most Loyal Expressions in their Approaches to the Throne, declaring their highest satisfaction in so Wise and Glorious an Administration. This was a great Mortification to the *Tories* of both Parts of *Great-Britain*, who had industriously reported, that the *Jacobites* were by far the *Majority* in *North-Britain*, and would never be quiet till the *Union* was broken. Of all the *Scots* Addresses I shall take notice of that from *Edinburgh* only, as being the Capital of that Ancient Kingdom, and consequently most likely to speak the Sense of it. The Citizens tell her Majesty, *That the Vigilance and Prudence of her Commanders, and the Valour, Firmness, and Discipline of her Troops, had by the Blessing of God overcome the greatest Hazards and Difficulties of War, and in one Action perform'd all the Parts of Conduct and Bravery of a Siege, and of a Battel, with so much Resolution and Regularity, that the Enemy of the Repose of Europe, whose Ambition had cost so much Blood and Treasure, must at last submit to the Conditions of a Solid Peace, and no longer trust to Troops, whom Lines, nor Cities, nor all the Shifts of their Generals, could not secure from her Majesty's Victorious Arms.*

I have taken notice already, that the *Scots* Representatives in the Parliament of *Great-Britain*

tain, were at first chosen for the main part out of the *Protestant-Party*, and they continu'd to be so till the late Managers took in the *Cavaliers* with an Intention to take in also the *Pretender*. The Major Part of these *North-Britain* Members always voted for the Interests of the House of *Hanover*, whenever Occasion offer'd, as long as that Illustrious House was favour'd by the Q——n and Ministry. The greatest Struggle between the Two Parties before the *Change* was in the Doctor's Business, and we shall find very few of either the *Scots Lords* or *Commons* who gave their Votes for that *Incendiary*. I wou'd have indeed been very glad to have seen the *Scots Presbyterians* Voting for a Priest that condemn'd them to *Eternity*; and yet we shall meet with some, who if they are not *Presbyterians*, are *Schismaticks*, who gave their Votes for him. We may guess what their Design in it was, by a List of their Names, which for the most Part we shall find in all the preceeding Lists of *Malecontents*, as

George Lockhart of Carnwarth, Esq; William Johnston, Esq; Robert Urquhart, Jun. of Burdsyeards, Esq; Sir James Abercrombie. John Carnegie of Boy- sick, Esq; Mr. Robert Roger, Mer- chant.	John Houston, Junior, of Houston, Esq; Dugald Stewart, of Blairball, Esq; Joseph Austin, Esq; Sir John Shaw of Gre- nock. Lieutenant General Ross.
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Mr. *Lockhart* will be afterwards found a great Confident of the *Harley's*, *Harcourt's*, *St. John's*, and the Set of Ministers who made the late Blessed Peace for Us; and we shall read of Two or Three more of these *Sacheverellites* sent to *France* by them, to take Care of our *Safety* and *Trade*. Every Step of their discovers which Way they were advancing; and their Cherishing those *North-Britains*, is not the least Argument of their good Will to the *Chevalier*, who threaten'd us with an *Invasion*.

As I have remember'd the Behaviour of those *Scots* Gentlemen, who fell in with the *Jacobites* and *Tories* in *England*, I should be unjust to the Nation if I did not also remember those of them, who in the Defence of the *British Constitution* voted against the Doctor, who would have destroy'd it. By which it will appear, That the *North Britains* are as Zealous for the *Protestant Interest* as the *South*; and have omitted no Opportunity either before or since the *Union*, to shew that Zeal. By the following List will be seen how vain the *Author of the Memoirs* was, in dignifying his Faction with the Character of the Most Noble and Numerous Part of his Nation; for whereas they were that small Number who sided with the *Tories* in the Case of *Sacheverel*; on the Side of the *Protestant Religion* and *Liberty* will be found

The Honourable <i>John Gordon</i> , Esq;	<i>Sir William Gordon</i> of <i>Dalpoly</i> .
The Hon. <i>Francis Montgomery</i> , Esq;	<i>John Cockburn</i> of <i>Ormistoun</i> , Esq;
The Hon. <i>James Campbel</i> , Esq;	<i>Alexander Abercrombie</i> of <i>Glassaugh</i> , Esq;
The Hon. <i>William Dalrymple</i> of <i>Glenmuir</i> , Esq;	<i>George Bailie</i> of <i>Jerviswood</i> , Esq;
The Hon. <i>James Campbel</i> , Jun. of <i>Arkinglass</i> , Esq;	<i>John Montgomery</i> , Esq;
The Hon. Colonel <i>Patrick Ogilvie</i> of <i>Loanmay</i> .	<i>John Campbel</i> of <i>Mamore</i> , Esq;
The Hon. <i>John Stewart</i> of <i>Sorby</i> , Esq;	<i>James Abercrombie</i> , Esq;
The Hon. Colonel <i>George Douglass</i> .	<i>William Greir</i> , Esq;
The Right Hon. Lord <i>Archibald Hamilton</i> of <i>Motherwell</i> .	<i>John Sinclair</i> , Esq;
<i>Sir Alexander Cummin</i> .	<i>Alexander Grant</i> of <i>Grant</i> , Esq;
<i>Sir Patrick Johnson</i> .	<i>Alexander Duff</i> of <i>Drummuir</i> , Esq;
<i>Sir David Dalrymple</i> of <i>Hailes</i> .	Colonel <i>Stewart</i> of <i>Livingstone</i> .
<i>Sir David Ramsay</i> of <i>Balmain</i> .	<i>Hugh Ross</i> , Jun. of <i>Kilranock</i> , Esq;
<i>Sir Alexander Douglass</i> of <i>Egilshai</i> .	<i>William Morison</i> of <i>Preston-Grange</i> , Esq;
<i>Sir Gilbert Eliot</i> of <i>Stobs</i> .	<i>Robert Douglass</i> , Esq;
	<i>John Pringle</i> of <i>Hanning</i> , Esq;
	<i>Henry Cunningham</i> , Jun. of <i>Boouhan</i> , Esq;
	Colonel <i>John Erskin</i> .
	<i>William Cockran</i> of <i>Kilmaronock</i> , Esq;

If we look into the List of the House of Lords on the same Occasion, how great is the Superiority in Number and Value of those that vindicated the *Revolution*, and *Protestant Succession* in the Condemnation of *Sacheverel*, to those that would have blacken'd the one, and weaken'd the other, by saving him. Of these I read of none but Duke *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Wymes*, the Earl of *Northesk*, and the Earl of *Mar*, who voted for the Doctor; and the late Managers took Care not to lose their Votes in the Two Parliaments they procur'd by their Management and Mobs. Against this Seditious Priest, besides His Grace the Duke of *Dover*, and His Grace the Duke of *Argyle*, who were Peers of *England*, we meet with these Noble *North-Britain* Patriots :

Duke of <i>Roxborough</i> .		The Earl of <i>Seafield</i> .
Duke of <i>Montrose</i> .		The Earl of <i>Orkney</i> .
The Earl of <i>Islay</i> .		The Earl of <i>Leven</i> .
The Earl of <i>Glasgow</i> .		The Earl of <i>Loudoun</i> .
The Earl of <i>Roseberry</i> .		The Earl of <i>Craford</i> .

Of whom the late Ministers did not think to make Tryal of above Two or Three, by giving them Seats in their Two Parliaments; and the Earl of *Islay* soon left them, when he perceiv'd what they were driving at; no less than the undoing all that has been done since the *Revolution*. Of all the *Scots* Peers, there were but Two besides the Duke of *Hamilton*, who joyn'd with the *English* *Protesting* Lords in *Sacheverel's*

rel's Case, and were for acquitting that Criminal. These Two were the Earls of *Wymes* and *Northesk*, and we shall certainly never miss them in any Lists of Lords, chosen by the Procurement of the late Managers, or Men of their Principles.

We have observ'd , That as long as the Ministry was in *Whig* Hands, all due Care was taken to endear the *South-Britains* and *North-Britains* to one another ; to remove all Occasion of Offence or Jealousy , and to preserve the *Scotch* Constitution in Church and State entire, as it was settled by the *Union* ; but as soon as the Administration was put into *Cavalier* Hands, immediately Encouragement was given to the *Jacobite* Episcopal Party in *Scotland*, who openly held their unlawful Conventicles, and without conforming to the Laws ; nay, even in Opposition to them, frequented *Jacobite* Assemblies, under Pretence of worshipping God in their own Way ; where they not only avoided Praying for the QUEEN, but in some Places traiterously Pray'd for the *King*, meaning the *Impostor*, then at *St. Germain's*. Some of their Priests took the Oaths , and sometimes would mention the QUEEN in their Prayers, but in their Discourses and Sermons they did all they could to Poyson the Minds of the People, and dispose them to Rebellion. Of these, the most Notorious, was *Greenshield*, who for Preaching and Praying in direct Opposition to the Laws of *Scotland*, was under a gentle Prosecution : But the Faction in *England* made a dreadful Clamour
against

against it, as if the Poor Man had been more Barbarously us'd than the *Tories* were wont to serve the *Kirkmen*, in King *Charles*, and King *James's* Reign; as if they had *Thumb'd him or Booted him*, a Common Practice among the *Cavaliers* when they had the Power in their Hands. The Reverend Mr. *Carstaires*, Her late Majesty's Chaplain at *Edinburgh*, was tortur'd by them; yet forgetting all that, they now Cry out against the cruel and unpreſented Treatment of ſuch another Worthleſs and Mutinous Prieſt as *Sacheverel*, or *Higgins*, and thence raiſe a Clamour againſt the *Scots* Preſbyterians, for that Spirit of Perſecution with which themſelves are more poſſeſ'd than any People in *Europe*, the moſt perſecuting Quarter of the World. The Story of *Greenſhield* has been told ſo often, I ſhall not repeat it, and mention it only to obſerve the Uſe the Party made of it, which was to prepare the Way for their Parliament to break in upon the *Union*, and lay ſuch Hardſhips on the Church of *Scotland*, by Law Eſtabliſh'd, as may tend to its Deſtruction. *Greenſhield* had Collections made for him in *England*, and the Legal Censure paſt on him in *Scotland*, was brought by Appeal into the Houſe of Lords, when the late Managers had a *Major Vote* there, by what Means all the World knows; and ſuch Managers could never have had a Majority, in ſo Illuſtrious an Aſſembly, but by the moſt Arbitrary and Prepoſterous Methods. The ſame Houſe of Lords that thank'd them for their Peace, reverſ'd the *Scots* Sentence againſt *Greenſhield*,

shield, tho' a very moderate one; which only oblig'd him to Obey those Laws that protect'd him; and to Practice a Legal Obedience, instead of Preaching an Illegal.

By the Lists of the Members of both Houses of Parliament sent up from *North-Britain*, during the late Management, we may very well form a Judgment of the Designs of the Managers. I have often desir'd the Reader to compare them with the preceeding Lists of *Cavaliers* and *Jacobites*. The Author of the *White-Staff's History* frankly confesses, they were chosen as they were *Jacobites*, and excuses it by pretending, 'twas to prevent their doing Mischief at Home. The Truth is, the *Tories* in *England* and *Scotland* have been very consistent in their Practices ever since the *Revolution*, and they may defy us to give one Instance of their taking a Step in Favour of our *Protestant Settlements*. They have indeed pretended to a great deal of Zeal for the *Hanover Succession*, when their *Pretences* have got the Power into their Hands, but they always employ'd it to serve the *French*, and the *Pretender's* Interest, which they look upon to be their own, and that they have no other Protection.

We have shewn, That the soundest Part of the People of *Scotland*, the most Noble and the most Numerous, were True *Britons*, Lovers of their Country, their Liberty, and Religion. However, their Opponents were the most noisy and most Enterprizing Party; had the most Impudence, and the most Industry, and never let
any

any the least Opportunity slip to shew their Aversion to the *Protestant Succession*, and their Affection to the *Pretender*. When their Friends the *Tories* had the Game in their Hands, they thought they might do what they would of this Kind with Impunity, and resolv'd therefore to give a *Coup d' eclat* in Favour of their King of *St. Germain's*. They might very well argue with themselves, Is not Duke *Hamilton* a Minister of State, Duke of *A——e* a Favourite, the Earls *Mareschal*, and almost all the Peers that were taken up for the Invasion Plot, Lords of Parliament; and have not *Lockbart*, *Carnegie*, &c. Votes in the *British House of Commons*: Is not *Har——y* Lord Treasurer, *Har——t* Lord Chancellor, *St. John* Secretary of State, and *B——y* Speaker of the House of Commons? What can Hurt us? We have made the *Tories* in *England* believe, That *North-Britain* is a Nation of *Jacobites*; let us do something to confirm 'em in this Belief: If we make ourselves talk'd of, they will swell the Mole-Hill to a Mountain, and make up by Invention what is wanting in Fact. With this View the Chief of 'em, the Advocates of *Edinburgh*, gave the Dutchess of *Gordon* to understand, That hearing she had some Medals of the Chevalier *de St. George*, they should take it very kindly if she would do them the Favour, to let one of them have a Place among their Rarities. The Dutchess's Son had marry'd the Earl of *Peterborough's* Daughter, and as that Lord was mightily Caref'd by the then Ministry, one may
 very

very well imagine, that the Dutchess durst not make any Advances of this Kind to the Faculty, before she knew how they wou'd be taken. For a Refusal wou'd have been of the most dangerous Consequence to her, and perhaps it wou'd not have been possible for the Lord *Peterborough* to have prevented it, how well soever he might be dispos'd to serve a Lady in so near Alliance with him. The Dutchess makes no Scruple of doing her dear King that Service, and very formally sent to Mr. *Robert Bennet*, Dean of the Faculty of Advocates, a Silver Medal with a Head on the Right Side, and this Inscription *cujus est*; and on the Reverse the *British* Islands with this Motto, *Reddite*, as a Present to the Faculty. The *Jacobites* among them manag'd their Matters as cunningly as they cou'd to escape Punishment, as much as they resolv'd to deserve it, and therefore wou'd not have the Medal sent to *Bennet* directly, but to be left with one of their Servants, that they might take it or reject it as they found their Society was dispos'd, and might own or disown it according to the Event. The Medal being thus lodg'd, *Bennet* consults his Brethren how they should accept of it and place it in their Repository of Rarities. A new Advocate was about that time to be admitted a Member, and this was thought a fit Opportunity to do the greatest Honour to the Dutchess's Present; so when the Faculty were met, *Bennet* the Dean told them, *Her Grace the Dutchess of Gordon has sent as a Present to you, the Medal of King James the VIIIth, whom they and the English call'd*

call'd the Pretender. Here's a plain Recognition of the *Impostor's* Title, and an Excuse tick'd to it of the Injustice done him by *English* and *Scotch* Protestants in calling him the Pretender. He added, *He hop'd they wou'd return her Thanks for it.* But a very Worthy Member of the Society, Mr. *Alexander Stevenson*, answer'd, that *the Medal should be return'd to her Grace, for the receiving it was throwing Dirt in the Face of the Government.* Which indeed was what the *Faction* meant by it. And Mr *Robert Alexander* of *Blackhouse* seconding Mr. *Stevenson*, said, *The receiving of such a Medal was owning a Right contrary to her Majesty's.* To this Mr. *Robert Frazer* reply'd, *That Oliver Cromwel's Medal, who deserv'd to be hang'd, and the Arms of the Common-Wealth of England had been receiv'd, and why not this ? 'Tis true, Oliver and the Commonwealth of England, were not Attainted, were not Papists and Fugitives, were not Pretenders to the Government of a King or Queen in Possession ; but that signifies nothing, if a Jacobite has no other Argument he never fails of that knocking down one, Cromwel and the Rump ; and if it had not been for the Words Republican and Fanatick, there would not have been such a Monster as a Tory in Great-Britain.* *Frazier's* demanding, with such an Air of Insolence, why the Pretender's Picture should not be receiv'd, rais'd the utmost Indignation in the Loyal Members of the Faculty, especially Mr. *Duncan Forbes*, Brother of the Laird of *Colloiden*, and Mr. *Joseph Hume* of *Nineholes*, who said,

said, *It was Time enough then to receive the Medal when the Pretender was Hang'd?* To the same Purpose spoke the most Learned and Worthy Gentlemen of the Society, as Mr. *Hugh Dalrymple*, Son to the President; Mr. *James Ferguson*, Son to Sir *John Ferguson* of *Kirkennel*, and Sir *James Stuart* of *Goodtrees*, Her Majesty's Sollicitor-General. But the *Jacobites* by the help of the young unthinking Advocates had the Majority at that Meeting; they having concert-ed the Matter before-hand, and taken care to get their utmost Strength together; the Loyal-Protestant Advocates not knowing that any Thing extraordinary was to be transacted, and consequently not assisting at that Meeting in such Numbers as otherwise they would have done; for 'tis certain, they have the Major Vote in the Faculty. But *Dundas* of *Arnis-toun* having told *Noses*, and finding the *Cavaliers* would Out-Vote the Protestants, he rose up and made the following Speech:

Whatever these Gentlemen may say of their Loyalty, I think they Affront the Queen, whom they pretend to Honour, in disgracing her Brother, who is not only a Prince of the Blood, but the First thereof; and if Blood can give any Right, he is our undoubted Sovereign.

Is not every Word of this Treason? He li-gitimates the Impostor, and dethrones the Queen, to make room for him. This Wretch knew very well, that his Blood was both question'd
and

and unqualify'd, and yet in an Assembly of Lawyers, he is pleading a Pretender's Right to Her late Majesty's Crown. This is a *Scots Cavalier*, one of *Lock*—— of *Car*——*th's* Party; one of the Party favour'd and entrusted by the late Managers; a Friend of *H*—— and *A*—— and thus he proceeds;

I think too they call Her Majesty's Title in Question, which is not our Business to determine. Medals are the Documents of History, to which all Historians refer; and therefore though I should give King William's Stamp with the Devil at the Right-Ear, I see not how it could be refus'd, seeing an Hundred Years hence it would prove, That such a Coin had been in England.

This Faction never fail'd of taking hold of all Opportunities to insult the Memory of King *William*, out of implacable Hatred to it for his Invaluable Legacy the *Protestant Succession*, and for that Reason especially were they so much in the good Graces of our *Peace-makers*. The First Speech the *Tory* Ministers put into the late *Q*——n's Mouth, had a Fling at *K. William* in the *Heart entirely English*. One of the first Debates in Parliament after his Death, had another such Fling at him, in the Word *Retrieving the Honour*; and their little Emissaries in all Quarters think they do their Business when they profane that awful Name, and vilifie his Sacred Character. This *Cavalier* was in very great Esteem with them for this very Speech, and
was

'twas wonder'd at, that the Two Dukes did not get some particular Mark of Distinction bestow'd on him ; 'tis to be hop'd that he may have it in another manner hereafter : He ends his Speech thus ;

But, Dean of Faculty, what needs Speeches ? None oppose the receiving the Medal, and returning Thanks to Her Grace, but a few Scoundrel Vermin and Mushrooms, not worthy our Notice ; let us therefore proceed to Name some of our Number to return our hearty Thanks to the Dutcheß of Gordon.

Was there ever so much Impudence, so much Brutality ? We have seen that this was oppos'd by Sir *James Stuart*, Mr. *Dalrymple*, Mr. *Ferguson*, and the best Gentlemen of the Faculty ; and yet this *Scoundrel*, whose Punishment ought to have been , what Mr. *Hume* assign'd the *Attainted Pretender*, presumes to insult them as so many *Vermin, and Mushrooms*.

The Dean of the Faculty observing, That the *Cavaliers* had by much the *Majority* at that Meeting, hasten'd to determine the Matter by the *Vote*, and it was carry'd, That Thanks should be return'd to Her Grace by the said Mr. *Dundasse*, and Mr. *Horn of Westbal*. *Dundasse* demanding in what Terms he should return Her their Thanks ; the Dean, in the Name of the Members then present, answer'd, *That the Society would approve whatsoever Mr. Dundasse, and Mr. Horne, thought convenient.* The

same Evening the New admitted Advocate gave an Entertainment to most of the Members that had voted for returning Thanks to the Dutches of *Gordon*; and the Dutches's *Health*, with the Pretender's, were the most Joyous *Toasts* of the Company.

Three Days after, *Dundasse* and *Horne* waited upon Her Grace, according to Order, and *Dundasse* made her the following Compliment :

Madam,

We are deputed here by the Dean of the Faculty of Advocates, in their Name, and for our Selves, to return our most hearty Thanks to Your Grace for all Your Favours, and particularly for the Honour you did us in presenting us with a Medal of our Sovereign Lord the King. We shall always be proud of any Occasion to testify our Loyalty to His Majesty, and the Respect and Honour we have for your Grace.

The late Managers knew of this Speech, as well as the rest of the People of *Great-Britain*; nay, that the Man who made it was as well worthy of a Halter, as her Grace was of his Thanks. Yet nothing was done to him; he lives still an Instance of their Affection to *France*, and the Pretender, in giving him a Life so notoriously forfeited to the Laws. The Dutches of *Gordon*, as highly pleas'd as she was with this Compliment, had a little more Wit, as well as more Years, than this Impudent Advocate, and was cautious and reserv'd in her Answer :

Gentlemen,

Gentlemen,

I have always esteem'd the Faculty of Advocates as the most Learned and Gentlemanly Society in Europe; and seeing they have made so fine a Collection of Books and Medals, I think every Body should assist them. For my Part whatever of Value comes to my Hand of either sort, I shall freely bestow them on the Faculty.

This Popish Dutcheffs does not say a Word of her Sovereign Lord the King, nor of her Loyalty to his Majesty; but the Tory Dundasse, who had taken the Oaths to the Government, cannot contain himself, nor be contented with Insinuations and Inuendo's: He is in such Transports at the Sight of the Pretender's Picture, and the Thoughts of his Tory Ministry, that breaking thro' all the Rules of Discretion and Decency, he reply'd,

Madam,

I hope, and am confident so do my Constituents, that your Grace shall have very soon an Opportunity to compliment the Faculty with a second Medal, struck upon the Restoration of the King and Royal Family, and the finishing Rebellion, usurping Tyranny and Whiggery.

There are not greater Tyrants upon Earth than French and Tory Tyrants, nor greater Rebels than Jacobites and Cavaliers. There are no Laws, no Oaths, can restrain the One, or oblige

blige the Other ; and yet what ado is made by them about Right and Loyalty. We see the great Aim of the Faction was to destroy *Whiggery*, which if it means any Thing, means a Love of Liberty, a Zeal for the Protestant Religion, an Abhorrence of *French* Politicks, all which this *Cavalier Faction* would have rooted out of the Minds of *Britons*.

Such an Insolent Attempt as this, in Favour of the Pretender, could not but make a Noise ; and Sir *David Dalrymple*, Lord Advocate, having Intimation of it, wrote to the Duke of *Queensberry*, one of the Principal Secretaries of State, to have his Grace's Directions how to proceed against the Offenders. It happen'd that the Duke dy'd about that Time, and Sir *David* waiting for Orders from Court, let the Thing hang as it did 'till he receiv'd them. 'Twas at last laid before Her Majesty, and those Orders were sent him to enquire into the whole Matter. The Faculty of Advocates apprehending some very ill Consequence to their Society, began seriously to consider of what they had done ; and the Offenders, who for the most Part never intended to recognize the Impostor's Title by it, to be sensible of their *Error* in trusting their Compliment with such a Traytor as *Dundasse*. They therefore joyn'd with the Loyal Members in disowning him ; and before the Medal was deposited, the whole Society, at a second Meeting, rejected it, as appears by the following Extract of an Act of theirs.

July

July the 18th, 1711.

The Dean and Faculty of Advocates understanding, that several Malicious Reports have been rais'd, and industriously spread Abroad, concerning a Medal, said to have been lately sent to one of their Servants, in order to be kept among other Curiosities belonging to that Society, met Yesterday extraordinarily upon that Occasion. And it appear'd to them, That a Medal was sent to one of their Servants; who being call'd, acknowledg'd his having the same, and justify'd that it never was put into the Faculty's Collection of Medals, nor had ever been out of his Custody: The said Dean and Faculty did, at the said Meeting Yesterday, unanimously declare, That they rejected the Offer of the said Medal, and order'd the said Servant to deliver up the same into the Hands of the Lord Advocate, which was done in their Presence. And further, the said Dean and Faculty of Advocates did unanimously appoint a Committee to bring an Act of Faculty, containing a Narration of the Fact as above, and a Declaration of their Duty and Loyal Affection to Her Majesty's Person and Government, and the Protestant Succession as by Law Establish'd, and their Detestation of all Practices that directly or indirectly may contain the least Insinuation to the contrary, or may give Encouragement to the Pretender. The Committee having met, and made a Report, the Faculty in a

very frequent Meeting assembl'd this Day extraordinarily, did unanimously agree to the Narration of the Matter of Fact as above. And for Vindication of their Duty and Loyalty to Her Majesty's Person and Government, and the Protestant Succession, as by Law Establish'd, in the Illustrious House of Hanover, do declare their utter Detestation of all Practices that directly or indirectly may contain the least Insinuation to the contrary, or any Encouragement for the Pretender, or his Abettors; and for Publishing this their sincere and stedfast Resolutions, do ordain these Presents to be Sign'd in their Name, &c.

They also Publish'd an Advertisement in the *Edinburgh Gazettee* against the Author of the *Flying-Post*, who Printed an Account of this Matter; which however past, as has been related, at the first Meeting of the Faculty on this Occasion: And the *Jacobites* at *London* triumph'd upon it so much, that it gave an Alarm to the Friends to the Protestant Succession, which occasion'd a slow Prosecution of the Offenders. The Ministry some time after remov'd that Worthy Patriot, *Sir David Dalrymple*, from being Lord Advocate, pretending to have taken Offence at his Backwardness in prosecuting those very Persons whom they protected. The true Reason was, his Zeal for the Protestant Interest, and *British Liberty*, of which that Noble *Briton* has always been a bold Asserter, and was the same in theirs, the Worst of Times. *Sir*

James

James Stuart, who succeeded *Sir David Dalrymple*, was a Gentleman of the same *British* Principles; and nothing being done in the Prosecution of these *Medalists*, 'tis plain the Ministers took both their Persons and their Cause into their Protection; nevertheless the *Whigs* took such Offence at their suffering this Insolence to go off with Impunity, that they got a Bill past in the next Session of Parliament, requiring *the Practisers of the Law in North-Britain, to take the Oaths, and subscribe a Declaration against the Pretender.*

The late Managers finding, notwithstanding all their Artifices, the House of Peers was compos'd of too many Lovers of their Countrey, for them to have it in their Power to betray it, were extremely puzzled how to bring about their Matters with a *Minority*. They did not at first approve of the dangerous Expedient of making Lords by the Dozen, and thought of a Scheme which would have effectually answer'd their Ends, and that was to make their Peers of *Scotland* Hereditary, to represent the Nobility of *North-Britain*, and secure Seats in Parliament to them and their Posterity. But this was so great an Act of Injustice to the other *Scots* Peers, and such a scandalous Invasion of the Union, that they were forc'd to drop that Project, after it had been mention'd in the House of Lords, and take up the other, of the Dozen. However, that they might not lose

the Service of so distinguish'd a *Cavalier* as Duke *Hamilton*, they got him made Duke of *Brandon* in *England*, that he might always be present, and have a Vote in the House of Lords ; there was a *Caveat* enter'd against his Patent ; but what signify'd *Caveats* during their Management. The *Whig* Lords apprehending no small Danger from the qualifying Numbers of *Cavaliers* to sit in their House ; and looking upon this also as an Invasion of the Union, which confin'd the Number of *Scots* Peers to Sixteen, resolv'd to oppose the Duke's Claim of a Seat among them as Duke of *Brandon*. Their Opposition occasion'd a long Debate, the Queen was present at it, and after several Speeches on both Sides, his Claim was disallow'd by a Majority of Fourteen Voices ; then a Question was put, *Whether the Scotch Peers, created Peers of Great-Britain since the Union, had a Right to Sit in that House*, which was carry'd in the *Negative*. And the Ministers having try'd their Strength on this Occasion, and found it too weak, resolv'd to increase it in a Manner never to be heard of before, and may it never be again heard of to the World's End. Upon this the Debate about Duke *Hamilton's* Patent was resum'd, the Party hoping the Peers would have paid such a Respect to the Prerogative as to have sacrific'd their Privileges to it, and have declar'd that Matter not to be Cognizable by them ; but they resolv'd that it was, and so it dropp'd for ever.

The New Ministry in *England* was so fond of *Lock*—*t*, who is said to have been so much concern'd in the Book I have been animadverting upon, that he was constantly chosen *One of the Commissioners for Taking, Examining, and Stating the Publick Accounts*; and was the busiest among those very busy Gentlemen, who having had the Conscience to take 30 or 40000 *l.* of the Government for their Services, made a Shift to find that *Mr. Robert Man* had taken 500 *l.* of somebody for a Bargain about Forage for Her Majesty's Troops in *North-Britain*. *Mr. Lock*—*t* was the Man who made a Report of this notable Discovery of these sharp-sighted Commissioners; and he wou'd very fain have made something of some Money lent the Earl of *Glasgow* for the Use of the *Scots* Government, by the Lord *Godolphin*, Lord-Treasurer of *England*. The Commissioners were so malicious as to examine his Lordship upon it, but 'twas found to their shame that the Sum was really a Loan only by the Queen's Order, and that 'twas repay'd by the Earl of *Glasgow*, either in Specie or an Equivalent. What was these Commissioners Design by such Enquiries, appears by his Design in the *Memoirs*. If he cou'd ruin the Credit of the Friends to the *Protestant-Succession*, he hop'd to give a Mortal Blow to the *Succession* it self. Therefore it was, that the scandalous Votes against the Duke of *Marlborough*, *Mr. Walpole*, &c. past on the Representation of a Sett of Commissioners, whom hardly any one knew, and no

Body

Body valued, but those that made Creatures and Tools of them.

'Twas this Man, that with the same View promoted the passing of several Acts of Parliament against the Interests and Security of the *Church of Scotland*, as by *Law establish'd*. And one in particular, call'd *A Bill to prevent the disturbing those of the Episcopal Communion in that Part of Great-Britain call'd Scotland, in the Exercise of their Religious Worship, and in the Use of the Liturgy of the Church of England*; and for repealing an Act of Parliament against *Irregular Baptism and Marriages*. The bringing this Bill into Parliament, rais'd a great Clamour both in *South and North-Britain*. Those that wish'd well to the *Protestant-Interest*, under all Denominations, exclaim'd against it as a Breach of the Union. 'Twas said, and very justly, that the *Episcopalians* in *Scotland* were for the most Part *Jacobites*. That they refus'd to pray for the *Queen*, and some of 'em pray'd on the contrary openly for the King, meaning the *Pretender*; that to disturb their Conventicles was therefore to suppress not only Seditious but Treasonable Meetings; and to encourage them wou'd be to increase the Number of the Malecontents, and weaken the Constitution in *Scotland*, both in Church and State. But as this was what was intended by it, the Ministry in *England* gave all manner of Countenance to every Thing, and every Person that oppos'd the *Scots Church*. The General Assembly in that Part of *Great-Britain* took the Alarm, and directed

rected Mr. *Castairs* Principal of the College of *Edinburgh*, and other *Scots* Divines then in *London*, to petition the *House of Commons*. But alas! *Lock*—*t* was a Leading Man there, and what better Fate cou'd they expect than what they met with, to have their Petition rejected? Upon this, the General Assembly transmitted to those *Scots* Clergymen a Representation, Signed by *William Mitchel* their *Moderator*, in the Name of all the Ministers, Elders and Commiſſioners; out of which I ſhall take only thoſe Parts that come cloſeſt to the Point I aim at, to ſhew that the Enemies to the Church in *North-Britain* were Enemies to the State; and that, tho' the Pretence was to favour the *Episcopalian*s, the Deſign was to ſtrengthen the *Jacobites*. They begin,

The Church of Chriſt in Scotland being as we apprehend in Hazard of ſad Alterations and Innovations, inconſiſtent with, and contrary to, that happy Eſtabliſhment ſecur'd to us by the Laws both of God and the Realm, from a Bill Entitl'd, &c. They do in all Duty and Humility fly to Her Majeſty's Royal Protection, ſo often and ſo graciously aſſur'd to them both by Her Royal Word and Letters.

For the *Scots* *Presbyterians* had had ſolemn Aſſurances of the maintaining of their Church as by Law eſtabliſh'd; and ſo had the *Presbyterians* in *England*, of having their *Toleration* inviolably preserv'd, notwithstanding that they
were

were both soon after presented with an *Episcopal-Bill*, and a *Schism-Bill*. The Assembly having prov'd, that such an Act was against the *Laws of Scotland* before and after the *Union*, proceed thus :

We cannot but express our astonishing Surprise, and deep Affliction to hear of such a Bill offer'd for such a Large and almost Boundless Toleration; not only threatenng the Overtbrow of this Church, but giving a large License almost to all Errors and Blasphemies, and throwing up all good Discipline, to the Dishonour of God, and the Scandal and Ruin of the true Christian Religion, and the infallible Disturbance of the Quiet, and to the Confusion of this Church and Nation.

In *England* the *Faction* pretended to a wonderful Concern for the Advancement of Religion, and suppressing Infidelity and Immorality. But then they confin'd Faith to themselves, and every one that did not think, or rather say as they did, for they seldom troubled themselves with thinking, were Infidels. In *Scotland* they are for breaking down the Pales of the Church to let in Men guilty of Blasphemy, and all Kinds of Errors in Religion. And to what End? To disturb the Publick Peace, and bring all Things into Confusion: As the General Assembly declare in their Representation. Which however, was of no Effect, nor the Speech that Mr. *Carstairs*, Her Majesty's *Scotch Presbyterian* Chaplain, made at the Delivery of it; tho' while

while even this Bill was passing, He had further Assurances given him of the *Royal Protection for the Church of Scotland*. To confirm which, not long after the Duke of *A——l* was appointed Her Majesty's Commissioner to preside in the General Assembly, of whom much is said in the *Memoirs*, and of his particular Project to secure the *Scots Presbyterian* Government by the Assistance of a *French Popish* Army. The *North-Britains* took Things right, as they were meant by the late Ministers. The *Protestants* were in the utmost Apprehensions of the evil Consequences of the Breaches made upon their Laws. The *Jacobites* fell to addressing and rejoicing. And the Quondam Treasurer introduc'd one of their Addresses from - - - - - in the *Highlands*, where plain mention was made of some Prince's Hereditary Right to the Crown after Her Majesty's Death, in Opposition to the Parliamentary One in the House of *Hanover*. Nay, they were so impudent as to solemnize the *Pretender's* Birth-Day, with great Noise and Shew in many Towns and Villages. For the *Jacobites* in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, depend so much on the Lenity of the *Protestants*, that where they are far from being the Majority, they will Bellow and Bustle, and pretend to be as Powerful as they are Insolent. The greatest Security that the *North-Britains* had was his Grace the Duke of *Argyle's* being made Commander in Chief of all the Land Forces in *Scotland*. But the Managers soon repented of putting so great a Trust into the Hands of a General,

neral, whose Zeal for the *Protestant-Interest* and Succession cou'd not be shaken, and his Grace was soon sensible, that their Views did not at all square with their Pretences.

So many Acts contrary to the Tenour of that *Union*, cou'd not but highly incense the Zealous *North-British Protestants*, who found themselves every Day more and more insulted by the *Papists* and *Tories*. 'Twas necessary therefore to do a little to sweeten the *Kirk*, and care was taken that only Particulars shou'd be the better for it; For it ended in allowing the Divinity Professors of the Universities of *St. Andrew* and *Aberdeen*, the Sum of Two Hundred and Ten Pounds *per Annum* each; which wou'd have been ready for other Professors when the time was come for turning out the *Presbyterians*, and making way for such as the *Jacobites* shou'd think fit to place there, either *Papists* or *High-Churchmen*.

I have taken notice in the foregoing Pages, how the *Tories*, who oppos'd the *Union*, behav'd themselves towards the *Scots* after it. How they got an Act pass'd to favour the Jacobite Episcopal Clergy in *Scotland*, contrary to the Act of *Union*. Yet when a Motion was made, to receive a Clause in the Bill to oblige all Persons in *Scotland*, who had any Civil or Military Office, or any Salary, or Place of Profit, under the Government, to attend Divine Service, according to the Law of *Scotland*, the Major Part of the *Scots* Members Voted against it, at the same time that they gave their Votes for the Bill to
prevent

prevent *Occasional Conformity* in *England*. Such were the Representatives the late Managers procur'd us from *North-Britain*. Such was the Concern the *Scots Cavaliers* had for the *Church* by Law Establish'd there. Such their Zeal for preserving the *Protestant-Religion*, by Uniting the Professors of it against the Common Enemy.

This Encouragement being given the Non-juring-Clergy in *Scotland*, an Act which was past in King *James's* time against *Irregular Baptisms and Marriages*, was repeal'd, to make way for the *Jacobite* Priesthood to exercise all their Functions. And now indeed might the *Scots* begin to grow weary of a Union which subjected 'em to the Tyranny of a *Tory* Ministry. What People upon Earth wou'd have had Patience to live under such an Administration as that of the *Har——ys, Har——ts, St. Johns, &c.* The Mountains of *Siberia* wou'd have been preferable to the Plains of *Salisbury*, under such Government, and accordingly the *North-Britains* were willing to get rid of it at any rate. The best *Protestants* among them chusing rather to have the *Union* dissolv'd, than be United with any People oppress'd by such a Slavery.

When the Taxes to be rais'd for the Year 1713, were debated in the House, several Members objected against the imposing a Malt-Tax on the *Scots*, it being more than they cou'd pay, and it broke in upon the *Union*. But the Ministers having *Scots* Representatives that wou'd do what they wou'd have them, carry'd it by the Majority,

Majority ; and the *North-Britains* were to pay the *Malt Tax* as well as the *South*. This with good reason made them outrageous ; and their Disgust to the Ministry on that and other Accounts grew to such a Height, that at last they desired to be discharg'd from any subjection to them. Nay, their Tyranny was such, that some even of the *Tory* Members fell in with the *Whigs*, who were very ready to deliver their *Scots* Brethren from such Oppression on any Terms.

Before this Matter was brought into Parliament, the *North-Britains* agreed upon a Deputation to the Queen, at the Head of which was his Grace the Duke of *Argyle*. The Substance of this Deputation was, *That the Scots bore with great impatience the Violations of some Articles of the Act of Union, and that the laying such an insupportable Burthen as the Malt Tax upon them was like to raise their Discontents to such a Height as to prompt them to declare the Union dissolv'd.* The Truth is, these Managers as we have seen had very little regard to the the Treaty of *Union*, and the Laws that establish'd it. Her Majesty however was pleas'd to answer them, *That their Resolution was precipitate, that she wish'd they did not repent it, and that she wou'd endeavour to make all Things easy.* Having no Redress at Court the *Scots* Members agreed to apply to the House of Lords ; and accordingly, on the 1st of *June*; the Earl of *Seafield* represented their Grievances to the House, as *their being depriv'd of a Privy-Council, their Peers being made incapable*

capable of being made Peers of Great-Britain, their being subjected to the Malt-Tax. He concluded, " That since the Union between the " Two Nations had not the good Effects as " were expected and hop'd from it when it was " made, he therefore mov'd that leave might be " given to bring in a Bill for dissolving the said " Union, and securing the Protestant-Succession " in the House of Hanover, &c. To prevent all Suspicion that this Motion was to serve the Pretender, the Scots offer'd to secure in the first Place the Succession in the Illustrious House of Hanover; and upon this Account it was that the Whigs fell in with them, especially observing, what an ill use the Ministers made of the Union. I have all along taken notice, that the Protestant-Party aim'd chiefly at the securing that Succession by the Union, and were therefore willing to oblige the Scotch Protestants in their Desire of dissolving it, provided that Aim of theirs was fully answer'd. But the Ministers and the Tory Faction wou'd not hear of dissolving a Union which supply'd them with so many staunch-Members, especially considering the Interests of the House of Hanover were not to suffer by it. The Earl of Mar seconded the Lord Seafield's Motion; and the Lord N—— and G——, to urge the reasonableness of laying the Malt-Tax on the Scots, made several Reflections on the Poverty of that Nation. To which one of the Sixteen Peers reply'd, That they were indeed Poor, and therefore the more unable to pay it. The Lord N—— and G—— answer'd, that

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'twas

'twas nothing but what was agreed to by the Treaty of Union; the Eighth Article of which imported, that Scotland should not be charg'd with any Imposition of Malt during the War only, which now was at an End: Such a one as 'twas; The Earl of Isla confest there was such a Clause, but that the same Article imported, That seeing it could not be suppos'd that the Parliament of Great-Britain would ever lay any Sorts of Burdens upon the United Kingdoms but what they should find of Necessity; therefore it was agreed that there should be no further Exceptions insisted on for any Part of the United Kingdoms; but that the Consideration of any Exemptions beyond what was already agreed on in this Treaty, should be left to the Determination of the Parliament of Great-Britain. His Lordship added, That when this Treaty was made, the Scots concluded, the Parliament of Great-Britain would never go about to lay any Imposition which they had reason to believe was burthensome; that the North-Britains were not able to pay the Malt-Tax; and he concluded, That he was for dissolving the Union. The Earl of P———b spoke against it as impossible, saying, He had heard the Union compar'd to Marriage, that according to that Notion it could not be broken since it was made by the greatest Power upon Earth; that tho' sometimes there happen'd a Difference between Man and Wife, yet it did not presently break the Marriage. So in like manner, tho' England, who as to this National Marriage must be suppos'd to be the Husband, might in some Instances have been unkind to the Lady; yet

yet she ought not presently to sue for a Divorce; the rather, because she had very much mended her Fortune by the Match; adding, that the Union was a Contract, than which nothing could be more binding. To this the Earl of Isla reply'd, That if the Union had the same Sanction as Marriage, which was an Ordinance of God, he should be for observing it as religiously as that; but he thought there was a great Difference. To which the Earl of P——b answer'd, He could not tell how it could be more solemn than it was, except they expected it should have come down from Heaven like the Ten Commandments. What follows of this Speech bears very hard on the Scots Nation, who are there treated, as a People that cou'd never be satisfy'd; that they would have all the Advantage of being United to England, but would pay nothing by their Good-will; and that they had more Money from England than all their Estates amounted to in their own Country. A very severe Charge, not to say worse of it, which one might justly do, since it is National. His Grace the Duke of Argyle was pleas'd to reply to this, and that with such Warmth and Eloquence, as soon remov'd any ill Impression left by so hard a Reflection. His Lordship spoke to this Effect, "That he was by some reflected
 " on as if he was disgusted, and had changed
 " Sides; but that he despis'd their Persons as
 " much as he undervalued their Judgments.
 " That it was true, he had a great Hand in
 " making the Union. That the chief Reason
 " that mov'd him to it, was the securing the

“ *Protestant-Succession*, but that he was satisfy’d
 “ that might be done as well now if the *Union*
 “ were dissolv’d. That he spoke as a Peer of
 “ *England* as well as *Scotland*; that he believ’d
 “ in his Conscience ’twas as much for the Inte-
 “ rest of *England* as of *Scotland* to have it dis-
 “ solv’d; and if it were not, he did not expect
 “ long to have either Property left in *Scotland*,
 “ or Liberty in *England*. His Grace urg’d fur-
 “ ther, that the Tax upon *Malt* in *Scotland*
 “ was as unequal, tho’ the same as in *England*,
 “ as Taxing Lands by the Acre, which would
 “ be very unjust, the Lands being worth Five
 “ or Six Pounds an Acre here about *London*,
 “ and not so many Shillings in some Part of the
 “ Country. That this was the Case between
 “ the *Scotch* and *English Malt*; the latter being
 “ worth Three or Four Shillings the Bushel,
 “ the other not above one; so that if the Tax
 “ were collected in *Scotland*, it must be done by
 “ a Regiment of Dragoons. Other *Scots* Peers
 said, *That the End of the Union was the Cultiv-*
ating an Amity and Friendship between the Two
Nations; but it was so far from having
that Effect, that they were sure the Animosi-
ties between them were much greater now than
before the Union. That it might easily be
prov’d by many Instances; that some Persons
agreed better when they were asunder than
when together, and for that Reason they believ’d if
the Union were dissolv’d again, the Two Na-
tions would be like to be better Friends. The
 Lord C. J. T——r spoke with Vehemence
 against

against dissolving the *Union*. And the Tr——r said, the Earl of *Seafeld's* Motion was no less strange than unexpected ; for according to that Orator's clear Way of delivering himself, there is a great deal of Difference between a strange Thing and an unexpected Thing. “ That the “ *Union* being made by Two distinct Parliaments of both Kingdoms, he did not see how “ it could be dissolv'd now the Two Nations “ were in different Circumstances from what “ they were in when it was made ; because the “ Power that made it was no more in Being, “ and nothing could make it Void but the “ Power that created it ; that if the *Scots* had “ any Grievances to complain of, there might “ be some other Method thought of to redress “ them, without proceeding to that extraordinary “ View of dissolving the *Union* ; which had “ been made in so solemn a manner, and brought “ about with so much Difficulty at last, after so “ many fruitless Attempts before. We have seen, and shall see, how ready the Ministers were to redress their Grievances, by invading the Act of *Union* in almost every Session. The Earl of *Nottingham* spoke for the Motion, and first represented the Advantages of the *Union*, if the Views with which it was made had been steadily pursu'd.

As I have not heard how his Lordship explain'd himself thereupon, I shall not presume to interpret his Meaning. But doubtless had the *North-Britains* enjoy'd their Religious and Civil Privileges entire, as settled by the *Union* : Had

the Ministers put no Hardships upon them, but done their Duty in endeavouring to endear each Nation to one another by kind Offices: Had they not made use of their Power to exclude the best Scots Patriots from Seats in the Parliament of Great Britain; the Advantages of the Union had been very many to both English and Scots. His Lordship spoke further to this Purpose, answering the Treasur's notable Harangue: *That tho' the Two Nations were now in other Circumstances than when the Union was made, yet the same Power that was in the Two Parliaments, when they were separated and distinct, was lodg'd in them now they were consolidated; and therefore if they had Power to make it, they certainly had to dissolve it; and that he knew not any Thing but what the Parliament could do, except destroying the present Constitution, which he own'd they had not Power to do: That the Inconveniencies which had attended the Union could not be foreseen till the Tryal was made; and since the Scots, who were the best Judges of the Affairs of their Kingdom, found that it did not answer the Ends propos'd, he was for Dissolving it.* The Earl of Sunderland said, *That he had a Hand in making the Union; yet if it had not that good Effect which was expected from it, he was likewise for Dissolving it.* The Lord Viscount Townshend declar'd, "that he was of
 " the same Opinion, if Measures could be found
 " to secure the Protestant Successors; and there-
 " fore his Lordship desir'd to know what Se-
 " curity the Scots could give for that Essential
 " Point

“ Point, before they proceeded any further.” Thus it appears that the Principal Point which the Protestant Peers drove at, was to secure their Religion and Liberty, either in making or dissolving the *Union*. The *Scots* Peers reply'd to my Lord *Townshend*, *That Security would appear when the Bill was brought in, which would then be a proper time to shew it.* Wherefore they mov'd, That the Question might be put immediately, *Whether the Bill should be brought in or not.* The Earl of *Nottingham* thought it convenient to appoint another Day to consider further of the Matter, it being of so great Consequence, that the Lords might be better appriz'd of it. The Lord *Hallifax* declar'd also for *dissolving the Union, provided only, that it cou'd be made appear that the Succession could be secur'd.* But yet his Lordship desir'd that *a further Day might be appointed to consider of so important a Matter.* The Earls of *Mar* and *Loudon* acquiesc'd in his Lordship's Judgment, and thought it proper to consider of it again. Several other Noble Lords, both *English* and *Scots*, spoke for and against the Earl of *Seafield's* Motion. 'Tis observable, that one of the latter urg'd the Danger *England* would be in from the *Pretender* if the *Union* was dissolv'd. So far had the Reports of the *Cavaliers* gain'd Credit that the *Scots* Nation were *Jacobites*. The Lord *T——* reply'd, *He could not tell what England had to fear from that or any other Incident; and that the Queen, Lords, and Commons of England, if all in one Interest, need fear no Enemy in the*

World, but despise the Pretender and all his Abettors. The Duke of A——le having Occasion to mention the Impostor said, *He knew not what Name to call him by, his Name being as uncertain as his Parents.* On the contrary, the Earl of S—— call'd him *the Prince or the Pretender, which you will,* and that in hearing of the Ministers; who were so far from disliking him for it, that they trusted and caress'd him. The Court Lords were to a Man against dissolving the *Union*. They built very much on the Support of Sixteen *Cavalier* Peers from *North-Britain*, and a good Parcel of *Commoners* for the next Parliament. They did not really care what became of the *Union*, but they stood in need of it on that Account, and would not part with it, saying, *The very moving such a Thing was dangerous, and might be of very ill Consequence, and therefore desir'd that such an effectual Stop might be put to it, as that no One might ever offer at any such Thing again.* This effectual Stop was the putting the Question, and their Major Vote had lik'd to have disappointed them, for they carry'd it but by Four Voices. There was some *Scotsmen* as Mr. L—— of C——, and the like, who perhaps might desire to have the *Union* dissolv'd, for the same Reasons that they oppos'd the making it: But the Generality of those that were for dissolving it now, were instigated to it by the Apprehensions they had of the Ministers bringing the *Scots Cavaliers* into the next Parliament; and how just those Apprehensions of theirs were, we found afterwards,

afterwards, to our very great Terror and Perplexity. The losing of the Lord *Seafield's* Question, was follow'd by the passing the *Malt-Bill*, *Scotland* included; and from this Time, to His Majesty's Accession to the Throne, hardly any Body but the *Jacobites* were pleas'd with the *Union*; as now every one, but that wicked Faction, wish its Continuance as long as that of our Constitution.

These were not the only Grievances the *North-Britons* had to complain of. *Church* was the Word, and whatever seem'd to enlarge its Prerogative, must be minded before any Thing. There being many *Jacobites* in *Scotland* who were disqualify'd by the Act which establish'd Presbytery for presenting to Benefices; the Ministers procur'd an Act to restore Patrons to their Ancient Rights of presenting Ministers to Churches, vacant in *Scotland*; and also another Bill for Repealing an Act pass'd in the Parliament of *Scotland*, Entitul'd, An Act for discharging the Yule Vacance; that is, for restoring the Observation of *Christmas-Holy-Days*, which those Protestants look'd upon as tainted with Superstition; and that was sufficient Reason for the *Tory* Ministers to bind them to the Observance of it by a Law, which the present truly *British* Parliament are about to Repeal. And the *Scots* Nation will always find, that when the Ministry of this Kingdom is in such Hands as at present, Men Lovers of their Country, and zealous for its Religion and Liberty; they will

will always be treated as Brethren ; who have the same Interests, as well as the same Religion and Language, as the *English*.

What a Kindness the *Tories* have for them, may not only be seen by some Passages of these *Memoirs* ; but by their employing the *Examiner* to insult them, 'till they had such a Representative from thence as was better to their liking than any before. I shall conclude with a Quotation out of that Libeller's Paper, as it is translated by the Author of the *Medley*, N^o 14. it alludes to the *Union* before-mention'd.

England being bounded on the North by a poor Mountainous People call'd Scots, who were Vassals to that Country ; and the English Prime Minister being largely brib'd, obtain'd the Queen's Consent for the Scots to Arm and Exercise themselves ; and they finding they were now in a Condition to be troublesome, began to insist upon Terms, and threaten'd upon every Occasion to joyn with the French. Upon which the Prime Minister, who began to be in Pain for his Head, set on Foot a Treaty to Unite the Two Kingdoms, which he had the good Luck to bring to pass ; and from that Time valu'd himself as Author of a most Glorious Union, which indeed was grown of absolute Necessity by his Corruption.

Thus did they Affront the **QUEEN**, who glory'd more in this *Union* than in all Her *Victories*.

stories. Thus did they Abuse Her Prime Minister, by whose Counfels and Care that Important Treaty was accomplish'd; and thus Insult the Scots, with whom the *English* were by that *Union* so firmly and happily United.

I have more than once hinted in the preceding Pages, for what Reasons I would desire the Reader to compare the Two following Lists with those of the *Cavaliers*, inserted on several Occasions in these *Memoirs*; not but that there were in both of the Two following Lists, and especially in the Second, many worthy Patriots, whom the Influence and Power of the late Managers could not keep out of Parliament.

MARRIAGES

ELIZ

TSLA

A LIST of the Scots Representatives, Lords and Commons, chosen for the Two Parliaments, during the late Administration.

For the Parliament, after the Change of the Ministry, in 1710.

D U K E S.

James Hamilton, Duke of Hamilton.
John Murray, Duke of Athol.

Thomas Hay, Earl of Kinnoul.
Hugh Campbell, Earl of Loudoun.
David Carnegie, Earl of Northesk.

M A R Q U I S S E S.

William Johnston, Marquis of Annandale.

George Hamilton, Earl of Orkney.
Archibald Primrose, Earl of Roseberry.
Archibald Campbell, Earl of Islay.

E A R L S.

William Keith, Earl Mareschal.
John Erskine, Earl of Mar.
A. Montgomery, Earl of Eglinton.
Alexander Home, Earl of Home.

V I S C O U N T S.

William Levingston, Viscount Kilsyth.

B A R O N S.

J. Elphinston, Lord Balmerinock.

Walter

Walter Stuart, Lord
Blantyre.

COMMONS,

Shire of *Aberdeen.*

Sir Alexander Cumming,
of *Culter*, Bar.

Burgh of *Aberdeen.*

William Levingstone,
Esq;

Shire of *Air.*

Hon. *John Montgome-
ry*, Esq;

Burgh of *Air.*

Charles Oliphant, Esq;

Shire of *Argyle.*

James Campbell, Jun.
of *Arkinglass*, Esq;

Shire of *Banff.*

Alexander Abercrombie,
of *Glassaugh*, Esq;

Shire of *Berwick.*

George Bailie, of *Jer-
viswood*, Esq;

Shires of *Bute* and
Catbness.

Sir James Dumbar, Kt.

Shires of *Clacmannan*
and *Kinross.*

Sir John Malcolm, Bar.
Shire of *Dumbarton.*

John Campbell, of *Ma-
more*, Esq;

Shire of *Dumfries.*

John Hutton, Esq;

Shire of *Edinburgh.*

George Lockhart, of
Carnwarth, Esq;

City of *Edinburgh.*

Sir Patrick Johnston,
Kt.

Shire of *Elgin.*

Burgh of *Elgin.*

Reed, of *Bara*,

Esq;

Shire of *Fife.*

Sir Charles Areskine,
Lord *Lyon King at
Arms.*

Burgh of *Dysert.*

James Oswald, Esq;

Burgh of *Anstruther-
Easter.*

George Hamilton, Esq;
Shire of *Forfar.*

John Carnegie, of *Boy-
sick*, Esq;

Shire of *Hadington.*

Sir David Dalrymple,
of *Hayles*, Bar.

Shire

Shire of *Inverness*.
 Sir *Alexander Mackenzie*, Kt.

Burgh of *Inverness*.
George Mackenzie, Esq;

Shire of *Kincardin*.
 Sir *Alexander Ramsay*,
 of *Balmain*, Bar.

Stewartry of *Kirkubright*.

Col. *John Stewart*.

Shire of *Lanerk*.

Sir *James Hamilton*, of
Rosehall, Kt.

Burgh of *Glasgow*.

Thomas Smith, Esq;
 Shire of *Linlithgow*.

John Houston, Jun. of
Houston, Esq;

Burgh of *Linlithgow*.

Hon. Col. *George Douglas*.

Shires of *Nairn* and
Cromarty.

Shires of *Orkney* and
Zetland.

Sir *Alexander Douglass*,
 of *Egilsbay*.

Shire of *Pebles*.

Murray, of *Stanhope*, Esq;

Shire of *Pertb*.

The Right Hon. *James*
 Lord *Murray*.

Burgh of *Pertb*.

George Yeaman, Esq;
 Shire of *Renfrew*.

Sir *Robert Pollock*, Bar.
 Shire of *Ross*.

Charles Ross, Esq;
 Burgh of *Tain*.

Monro, Esq;

Shire of *Roxburgb*.

Sir *Gilbert Eliot*, of
Stobs, Bar.

Shire of *Selkirk*.

John Pringle, of *Haining*, Esq;

Shire of *Sterling*.

Sir *Hugh Paterson*, of
Bannockburn, Kt. and
 Bar.

Burgh of *Sterling*.

Henry Cunningham,
 Esq;

Shire of *Sutherland*.

Sir *William Gordon*, of
Dalpoly, Kt. and Bar.

Shire of *Wigtoun*.

Sir *John Stewart*, of
Sorby, Esq;

Burgh of *Wigtoun*.

William Cockran, of *Kilmaranock*, Esq;

For

For the Parliament in 1713.

L O R D S.

John Murray, Duke of
Atbol, Knight of the
Thistle.

John Areskine, Earl of
Marr.

Alexander Montgomery,
Earl of *Eglintoun*.

Thomas Hay, Earl of
Kinnoul.

Hugh Campbel, Earl of
Loudoun, Knight of
the Thistle.

James Ogilvy, Earl of
Finlater and *Seafield*,
Knight of the Thi-
stle.

Charles Hamilton, Earl
of *Selkirk*, Lord of
the Bed-Chamber.

David Carnegie, Earl
of *Northesk*.

John Cochran, Earl of
Dundonald, Captain
of the 4th Troop
of Guards.

J. Campbel, Earl of
Braidalbin.

Charles Murray, Earl of
Dunmore, Colonel
of the 3d Regiment
of Foot Guards.

George Hamilton, Earl
of *Orkney*, Lord of
the Bed-Chamber.

Archibald Primrose,
Earl of *Roseberry*.

David Collier, Earl of
Portmore, Knight of
the Thistle.

William Levingston, Vis-
cont *Kilsyth*.

John Elphinston, Lord
Balmerinock.

C O M M O N S.

Shire of *Aberdeen*.

Sir *Alexander Cumming*,
Kt.

Shire of *Air*.

John Montgomery, Esq;
Shire of *Argyle*.

Sir *James Campbel*, Bar.
Shire of *Bamf*.

Alexander Abercromby,
Esq;

Shire

- Shire of *Berwick*.
 Hon. *George Baillie*,
 Esq; Commissioner
 of the Admiralty.
- Shires of *Bute* and
Cathness.
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 Shires of *Nairn* and
Cromartie.
John Forbes, Esq;
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 Hon. *John Campbell*,
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 Shire of *Dumfries*.
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- Shire of *Edinburgh*.
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 Shire of *Elgin*.
Alexander Grant, Esq;
 Brigadier-General.
- Shire of *Fife*.
 Sir *Alexander Areskine*,
 Bar. Lord *Lyon King*
 at Arms.
- Shire of *Forfar*.
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 Shire of *Haddington*.
 Hon. *John Cockburn*,
 Jun. Esq; a Commis-
 sioner of Trade.
- Shire of *Inverness*.
 Hon. *Alexander Mac-*
kenzie, Esq;
- Shire of *Kincardin*.
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 Shires of *Kinross* and
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 Stewartry of *Kirkud-*
bright.
 Hon. Sir *John Stewart*,
 Bar.
- Shire of *Lanerk*.
 Sir *James Hamilton*,
 Bar.
- Shire of *Linlithgow*.
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 Shire of *Orkney* and
Zetland.
 Hon. Col. *George Dou-*
glas.
- Shire of *Peebles*.
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Murray.
- Shire of *Renfrew*.
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 Lieutenant - General
Charles Ross.
- Shire of *Roxburgh*.
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- Shire

Shire of *Stirling*.
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 Burgh of *Aberdeen*.

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George Yeaman, Esq;

Burgh of *Craill*.

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Burgh of *Dysert*.
James Oswald, Esq;
 Burgh of *Inverkitthen*.

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Burgh of *Glasgow*.
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 Burgh of *Haddington*.

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Burgh of *Selkirk*.

Sir *James Carmichael*,
 Bar.

Burgh of *Dumfries*.

Sir *William Johnston*,
 Bar.

Burgh of *Wigtoun*.

Sir *Alexander Maxwell*,
 Bar.

Burgh of *Air*.

Charles Oliphant, Esq;
 M. D.

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